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GLIMPSES OF THE UNIVERSITY AT WORK FROM 1907 UNTIL THE FIRST WORLD WAR (II)[1]

SIR ROBERT FALCONER

IT was high summer, just after Convocation, when first I walked across the lawn and passed through the magnificent front doorway of University College, then called the Main Building, into the President's office. Few persons were to be seen on the grounds, which in all their beauty deeply impressed me as a most proper setting for a great University. Soon Principal Hutton appeared. He had acted as President for the past year, and had given tone to University College as Head of Classics, and latterly as Principal, for nearly a generation. Distant by nature and never familiar with many, he was admired by all for his distinguished mind and implicitly trusted for his integrity. He consented to act as President on the understanding that another should be chosen for the permanent position. Dr Loudon, whom he followed, had been faced for years with a very difficult task. The income of the University was quite insufficient to keep a rapidly growing institution, at a time of universal advance in science and learning, abreast of the rising needs which as a scholar and a physicist he knew only too well; but the government was unfriendly, and there were bitter personal antagonisms both within and without the University, while he was unable to appear at his best in public speech. When from time to time I dropped in to chat with him, I found a quiet, cultivated gentleman, agreeable and not prone to rehearse his past grievances. Shortly, Dr Ramsay Wright, Dean of the Faculty of Arts and Vice-president of the University, came across from the Biological Building. He had filled the chair of Biology for fifty years, and was probably the most brilliant lecturer in the University, notwithstanding a naturalized foible of precise, anglified pronunciation. He was one of the most eminent exponents on the continent of the new method of teaching the natural sciences, and not a few of his students became well-known leaders in biology in the western world. He was an excellent administrator and was clear and sane in guiding committees. Doubtless he was disappointed in not having been asked to become President, but he never showed it to me and helped me in every way. We became

[1]The first article appeared in the issue of January, 1942 (EDITORS' NOTE).

close friends, both being sons of the manse and graduates of Edinburgh, and, after his retirement to England in 1912 to my personal loss, he and his wife corresponded with us until the death of each.

The Faculty of Medicine, already well into its new era of expansion, was effectively directed by Dean Richard A. Reeve, a loyal, generous and modest gentleman whose retirement from the deanship two years later was universally regretted. A successor was found in Dr C. K. Clarke, wise and kindly, the most eminent alienist in the Dominion, interested in music and bird-life, and concerned above all things in relieving human troubles. When he became Superintendent of the Toronto General Hospital, he was held responsible, of course, for happenings that were beyond his control in a little world of sick folk and doctors, but it was sometimes said that over-critical trustees became uneasy under his imperturbable gaze lest he was rating them in the scale of mental patients. His freedom from self-seeking gave him unusual influence with the staff, and few could handle students as well as he. Dr John Galbraith, the deeply loved and shrewd "Johnny," was Dean of the "Old School," the Faculty of Applied Science. When word of his death reached me in Trondhjem, Norway, at the outbreak of the first World War, I was conscious of an overflowing wave in a rising sea of troubles; but his place was taken for the duration of the war by his colleague and friend Dr W. H. Ellis, who had been on the point of retirement; a first-class scientist, steeped in humanism, he was a genial though reticent soul.

Two new Faculties had just been created, Forestry and the College of Education. The former was brought into being by Dr B. E. Fernow, probably the most outstanding forester on the continent. He embodied some of the finest qualities of Old Germany, and as a naturalized American citizen carried himself with great wisdom in the heavily charged war atmosphere. Education was guided by Dr William Pakenham, who happily is still with us. Sagacious, with an unrivalled provincial experience in all the teacher's problems, he was the best of links between the University and the Department of Education in the Parliament Buildings, where his unwearied tact served to smoothe out many a ruffled prepossession. The federated Universities and Colleges made the academic situation more than ordinarily complex, but Dr Nathaniel Burwash of Victoria, Dr Street Macklem of Trinity and Dr Henry Carr of St Michael's were most capable interpreters of

constitutional questions and gave me willing guidance, each through his own section of the maze.

Both in public by the press and in private by persons within and without the University, I was warned that there was much dead brush in the staff, which it would be my duty to cut out. But I decided to investigate the academic plantation with circumspection and to go slowly. In regard to this the Governors left me to myself. As a matter of fact I found that the quantity of culls or decaying timber had been exaggerated. There were indeed a very few professors who put forth little fruit and whose leafage was scanty, but to deal with incompetence by ruthless dismissal is not by any means so simple a matter in a university as in a business house, though I have heard a governor assume that it was. Once a professor is appointed he holds a position from which only serious provable shortcomings can dislodge him. A few years after the war, a professor who had reached the age of sixty-five (when he retires automatically unless the Board gives him an annual appointment until he is seventy) brought legal action against the Governors, and in particular the President, for not having kept him on the active staff, no definite charge of incompetency or delinquency of character having been preferred against him. But a Judge of the Supreme Court dismissed the case almost summarily, as according to the University Act all appointments shall be "during the pleasure of the Board." It would be more difficult to prove intellectual or even moral incompetency than to show that a removal might be politically expedient, as, for example, became evident in the case of the German professors during the early months of the first World War.

After appointment consideration was given annually to increases of salary and to promotions. Statutory increases on a small scale took effect regularly. Occasionally the President had to try to persuade the head of a department against too rapid promotion; more rarely the other way. Now and then there were sad conferences with aggrieved parties in the President's office; I can remember at least once the pleadings, or perhaps I should say the remonstrance, of a wife on behalf of her husband as not having been sufficiently recognized. On the whole the Toronto staff was distinctly competent and faithful. There were distinguished scholars and men of science, and many young men who were full of promise. As I look back on my own college days in Edinburgh,

I remember that of stimulating teachers there were but few, and since then I have found general complaint in universities concerning the lack of men outstanding in teaching or research. The great work of a university is done by steady men and women of high ability and training who with unflagging effort and good conscience accumulate knowledge, develop insight, and produce results which often reach originality. The few brilliant ones are a tonic, good for the academic health but not always agreeable to the taste. It is a long and a difficult task to get to know and appraise the individual members of a large staff. For success in this the President must depend upon aid from his deans and the heads of departments as well as on unceasing personal interviews. Uneasiness was manifested at the beginning by some of the younger members of the staff as to the grounds for promotion. Was it to be based chiefly on results of research? Was a Ph.D. to be a prerequisite as in some American universities? No hard and fast rule was laid down. Teaching power was a leading virtue, but it is usually associated with ability in research. Rarely is either quality sufficient alone. Some of our best young teachers came from Britain, where a generation ago there were few schools granting post-graduate degrees. We could not compete with American universities in our offers, save now and then; so we had to look to our own and other Canadian graduates—a source of supply for which we were thankful and on which Americans were always eager to draw. While our own graduates far outnumbered all others, there was sufficient variety on the teaching staff to enrich the character of the University.

The most striking phenomenon during the seven pre-war years was the continued rapid increase in the numbers of undergraduates in all Faculties. By 1910-11 the attendance reached 4,112, whereas ten years earlier the total enrolment, excluding Trinity College but including the School of Science, had been 1,624. Though three new Faculties, Household Science, Forestry and Education, had been added, the overwhelming increase was in the older Faculties, and that in spite of higher standards and lengthened courses. In 1912-13, of the 4,141 registered, 2,212 came from the Province of Ontario, 1,286 from Toronto, 350 from the four Western Provinces, and 68 from Quebec and the Maritime Provinces. In process of time, after the close of this period, the distribution changed; the numbers from the city and the province became nearly equal, and

those from the West fell rapidly. In 1931-2, there were 3,716 registered from the province, and 3,651 from the city. In the same year, 357 came from the Western Provinces, and 133 from Quebec and the Maritimes. The explanation of these changes is simple. The University of Western Ontario at London had been built up, McMaster was beginning at Hamilton, and the city of Toronto had grown relatively at a very rapid rate. The foundation and rise of the provincial universities in the West provided for most in those areas who wished to take undergraduate courses especially in Arts, though also in the professions. The stationary attendance of those from outside Ontario was due to the establishment here of a post-graduate school, the taking over of the School of Dentistry and the creation of Schools of Social Science and Nursing, to all of which streams flowed from East and West.

Growth in university attendance at that period was a phase of continental society, which brought difficult problems both as to administration and teaching. How could classes be kept at such a reasonable size as to ensure satisfactory instruction? Where could enough good teachers be found? How were the costs to be met? As far back as 1891, the Hon. Edward Blake, Chancellor of the University, in his famous report stated that the aim of the University, if it were to do justice to its students, should be to have no pass class with more than thirty, and no honours class with more than twelve. Similar figures were recommended in 1908 by the Carnegie Foundation for the Advancement of Teaching. But except in a few honours courses these standards were never reached in Toronto. In 1907 Professor Wrong introduced a modified tutorial system in history, and for a succession of two-year periods a few recent Oxford graduates helped him to get it established.[2]

The influx of undergraduates occasioned many difficulties in securing space both for teaching and for laboratory work. Though there was constant remodelling and new building we could never catch up, with the result that expenses arose at a rate that gave all concerned many a bad hour. By 1911 the cost per student had risen from $142 each to $180 on the same basis. But this included

[2]Mr Keith Feiling, now for long a distinguished figure in Christ Church, was the first of these. He and his friend, the Hon. Edward Wood, now Viscount Halifax, both fellows of All Souls, established in the University the All Souls' History Prize of $150, which is still offered every second year on the basis of an essay in Ancient or Modern History.

a certain amount for amortization of new buildings. Though the cost of living had gone up, the fees remained very low. Careful computations showed that on comparable bases the cost per student was much lower than in American state universities or in the new city universities in England. The building programme had been carefully considered for years under the administration of President Loudon, and most of what was carried through in the pre-war period had been recommended in the University Commission's report.

If the class-rooms were thronged, especially in Arts, the first obvious questions were: Are too many admitted as undergraduates? Are many of those who get in insufficiently prepared to do the work of university grades? It was notorious that too many subjects were being required for matriculation, and that the standards both singly and on the whole were too low. The schools were equipped to do better work, and all the collegiate institutes were already carrying out successfully the equivalent of the first-year pass course in Arts. When this matter was taken up with Dr John Seath, the Superintendent of Education, he laid the problem on the door-step of the universities. Not the least of the difficulties that lay in the path of a President who came from outside the province arose from his unfamiliarity with the complicated history of the school system of Ontario. Time and again I discovered that some proposal that I made either in the University or to the Department of Education, had been considered and perhaps rejected. After matriculation had been discussed in university committees, it was taken up with Dr Seath, and finally dealt with in committees representing the universities of the province, the teachers of the high schools and the Department of Education. Dr Seath, whom I knew from 1907 till his death in 1919, was an able and well-educated man. He was a Scot who had been for the most part educated in Ulster and held a B.A. from Queen's University in Ireland. During his middle life he had rendered great services to the schools of Ontario, but he had later modified some of his sounder earlier views and in his old age he became set in his ways. He centralized power in his own control, issuing constantly new regulations to standardize teaching and increasing examinations. Of professors as a class he was critical. His friend John Squair, in his sketch of Seath's life, recalls one of many similar outbursts: "Squair, you're like the rest of your colleagues of the University. They're a poor lot. Still I will say

you have some sense and that's more than I can say of most of them." He thought in terms of his educational system and of prodding the average teacher; the professor thought in terms of freedom for the best teachers to prepare their pupils for the University. However, I always felt that in the back of his mind Seath had respect for university opinion, especially that of Toronto. Agreeing with the proposal to raise the entrance to the University to the honour matriculation standard he warned me, as turned out to be the case, that this would not be accepted by Queen's, which in fact led the other universities in rejecting the proposal. The lower standards of entrance allowed many boys and girls to slip in who should have been kept under the supervision of teachers in their home school. Some found university work too easy, and gave too much time and effort to athletic and social pursuits; others found it too hard, an experience which should have been tested before they left home. In consequence of both conditions there was an unduly large percentage of failures at the end of the first year. Though the efforts to reach the goal were long and disappointing, and were not successful until shortly before I retired, real improvement took place from time to time. This was good for the University and for the schools. Concurrently with those for Arts the requirements for entrance into the professional Faculties were gradually raised. In the later years, under Dr Seath's leadership, a Joint Matriculation Board was established by Act of the Legislature. On it were represented each of the four universities in the province (Ottawa was later added) and each of the universities federated with the University of Toronto, whose President was Chairman of the Board. The Registrar of the Department of Education acted as secretary and gave expert advice on all matters pertaining to the schools. The functions of the Board were solely executive. It appointed the examiners and made arrangements for the conduct of the examinations, the expense of which was met by the government. The standards and contents of matriculation were determined at an annual conference of representatives of the universities and of the Department of Education, held at the University of Toronto. The decisions were formally ratified by our Senate and were then transmitted by our Registrar to the Department of Education. These were put into effect by the Matriculation Board. This co-operative action has given the province the great advantage of a single examination system, and, rigid though it was, it produced good

results under competent and well-trained teachers. This combined control reached into the private schools also, as it was necessary for them to conform their teaching to that of the system, if their pupils, a large number of whom were heading for an Ontario university, were to be successful. One wonders whether in the then regulating social and economic conditions of the province, and with the average quality of the teachers changing very frequently, the inflexible system arrived at by consultation of universities and the Department has not produced better results than the idealists feared it would.

In all the Faculties of the University the process of modifying the curricula, in the hope of introducing better educational values into the courses, went on without ceasing throughout this period. In Arts the pass degree was improved in two ways: by limiting the work of the first year to six subjects, and of the last three years to five, arranged in groups to allow the student to follow his aptitudes in greater concentration; and by raising the percentages in examinations. These changes made a much better degree; and there was less reason for the hesitant confession "only pass," which I used often to get in reply to my question of a student as to his, or perhaps more frequently her, course. Toronto honours courses have for long had a high reputation, which was confirmed by visitors from the Carnegie Foundation who came to the University periodically. The chief complaint against them, especially those in the sciences, was that they were too narrowly specialized, and that most of them were unsuitable to provide the broader education needed by teachers. This specialization in the sciences became in some instances practically a professional training in the Arts Faculty; and government bureaus, industry and commerce were recruited from them with competent officers. But they also prepared for a high quality of post-graduate work. Steadily the supremacy of the traditional classical studies was challenged not only by the modern languages, but even more by history, the political and social sciences, and more recently by anthropology, ethnology and geography, as well as by sub-divided and extended natural and exact sciences. Consideration of the University Calendar will suggest how greatly the content of modern educational and social life has changed in recent years.

In Medicine the course was lengthened first to five, and then to six years, and new departments were added. First bio-chemistry

was separated from physiology, then chemical pathology was set up, T. G. Brodie, F.R.S., and J. B. Leathes, F.R.S., being appointed to the chairs from England. For the clinical years the new Toronto General Hospital provided much better facilities than had been possible before. In return for provincial help the Hospital gave university professors exclusive oversight for teaching purposes of all clinical material, and a few small laboratories were equipped in the wards, while the whole pathological and bacteriological work of the Hospital was to be done in the new building erected by the University in contiguity with the Hospital. Gradually the other three hospitals improved their equipment, and the University availed itself more and more of their material, while they accepted suggestions as to the personnel for their staffs who would be acceptable as clinical teachers.

Before 1907 the School of Applied Science had decided to drop the existing three years' course for a diploma, and to extend the curriculum so that there would be only a four years' course with a B.A.Sc. degree. New departments were added to meet the emerging needs of the province. This had always been the policy of Dean Galbraith. The primary urgent call had been for civil engineering. Consequently drafting always bulked large, in the opinion of many in later years disproportionately so, in the curriculum. Water-power projects and applications of electricity demanded training in these subjects, and "the School" played a very large part in the development of the hydro-electric system of the province. But chemical and mechanical engineering and later mining and metallurgy held important positions. Mathematics was taught by Arts professors, but "the School" had its own departments of physics and chemistry. This principle was vigorously challenged by Arts professors as due to injurious isolationism; but Dean Galbraith held firmly that his students would get a better grasp of the basic principles of physics and chemistry if they were taught by men who could illustrate them with practical engineering examples in special laboratories. On visiting other engineering schools on this continent I found that this was a vexed question. Apart from the disputed educational values, one reason for a fabian policy was that the transfer of these subjects to Arts would have involved almost certainly increased expense for buildings and staff.

The Faculty of Forestry was inaugurated with a high standard of entrance which was well maintained throughout the course.

Numbers were always small, and the demand for graduates was modest until governments and Canadian lumbering interests learned that our forest wealth is not inexhaustible and should be conserved and developed on scientific experience. For the Faculty or College of Education the Department of Education paid the piper in more ways than in cold cash, and Dean Pakenham found that he could not always call the tune as freely as he wished. Complaint was often heard from Arts graduates that in the year they spent in the College sufficient account was not taken of their educational maturity.

During this period the most keenly contested university policy was the establishing of a post-graduate Faculty. The discussions, repeated and tedious, brought into the open acute personal uncongenialities. It was often a conflict between broadsword and rapier wielded by antagonists who loved one another none too well. The champions of the new Faculty charged those who resisted its creation with sluggishly keeping within the treadmill of undergraduate instruction, and insisted on the axiomatic function of a university to promote science or knowledge by an expert staff alive with the spirit of research. Their underlying misapprehension, or at any rate depreciation, of the ideals of the conservatives was an obstacle in the way of getting a policy, sound in principle, established with the goodwill that would have saved delays. There was in all this also a clash of principles. One side adhered to the tradition which came especially from Oxford, and which was represented strongly in Toronto, that it was an essential function of this University to educate undergraduates for their positions in society, and that the foundations for research and advanced work should be laid in the developed honours courses. An undergraduate faculty should not be disparaged by the introduction of a "superior" faculty, as it might be were there to be created a group of superprofessors. Furthermore it was emphasized that the teaching staff was greatly overburdened, that large numbers were flocking into the University from the schools, and that, in the time of pressure when the undergraduate standards were not yet what they should be, some of the staff should not be set aside mainly for advanced teaching and with release for research. There was in these debates also a local phase of the widespread conflict then going on between the old classical humanities and modern scientific ideals and methods. The protagonists for a post-graduate Faculty in control

of the Ph.D. degree held that the candidate for such a doctorate should produce a piece of research resulting in some addition to knowledge. A few of the scientists who opposed the new Faculty, and these by no means the least distinguished, scandalized some of their opponents by their practice of assigning some independent research to their honours students in the fourth year of the course. Scorn was thrown upon the kind of "additions to knowledge" that were recorded in the lists of theses for degrees in American universities. But there were those in the middle of the way who averred that additions to knowledge might be made with much greater success in psychology, in economics or in history than in the humanities. Most of the humanists, thinking chiefly of the old classics, contended that wide reading and deep reflection were essential if a thesis were to be of real value. The educational worth of the literatures of Greece and Rome lay in their power to create appreciation of literary beauty and to stimulate pure thought. These held that the new studies of comparative philology, textual criticism and archaeology were secondary. But the humanists did not bring out sufficiently what the modern scientific method has done for the better understanding of the culture of Greece and Rome, through the deeper knowledge from research into the social, economic, intellectual and religious conditions of that world.

After prolonged discussion, a compromise was reached by which the importance of keeping undergraduate work at a high standard was acknowledged, the position of the honours courses was maintained, the M.A. degree was improved and similar degrees were established in other Faculties, and a graduate School, which was essentially a Faculty of high standards, was created, while the question of precedence was stilled.

For some time the other universities, especially those in the West, had been urging on us the creation of a post-graduate School to which their graduates might come, instead of continuing to go in large numbers to the United States, many of them not to return. My friend from college days, Dr Walter Murray, President of the University of Saskatchewan, emphasized that such a School might be made the means of binding together the higher institutions of education, and be an intellectual factor in the unification of Canadian life. Also, that its success would be furthered by the provision of scholarships in Toronto for post-graduate students from other Canadian universities. I succeeded in securing from private

donors, to begin with, six such scholarships of $500, each carrying free tuition, the award to be made to non-Toronto graduates, especially from Western universities. These scholarships were carefully administered by a special committee, and the results in the succeeding years have amply proved the value of the suggestion and the worth of the effort. Year after year some of the ablest young Canadians have been brought thereby to Toronto, and I believe that most of them have remained in Canada. They have also often been a stimulus to both fellow-students and teachers, who have realized the high quality of young Canadians across the Dominion.

Another step was taken in promoting fuller mutual understanding of the universities through the creation of the Canadian Universities Conference. The proposal originated in talks which President Murray, President Stanley Mackenzie of Dalhousie and I had during a visit we paid at the end of 1914 to Alberta, as a commission appointed by the provincial government to report on a petition from people in Calgary for a charter for a degree-conferring university in that city. President Tory, then in Edmonton, approved heartily of the proposed Conference, and after correspondence with other university authorities, it was summoned to meet and became permanent, convening annually. The Conference has been of great value for discussing educational standards and ideals, as well as general educational problems concerning the Dominion; at the same time it has done much to further a better personal appreciation between the leaders of the Franco-Latin tradition and those of English-speaking institutions.

In athletics Toronto has had an excellent tradition. The percentage of students who are physically fit for any reasonable exercise has been very high. The annual reports of our medical officers have commented regularly on the absence of traces of venereal disease and of bodily disability due to bad habits. It is not necessary for me to outline the system of athletic direction. Suffice it to say there was the finest co-operation between graduates, undergraduates and representatives of the staff. The wise and kindly advice of such professors as C. H. C. Wright, M. A. Mackenzie and A. T. DeLury, as well as of the secretary, Mr T. A. Reed, was of inestimable value in maintaining a harmonious spirit at home and in creating a healthy atmosphere for the athletic activities of the universities of Ontario and Quebec.

Fraternities and sororities were not formally recognized by the Caput. When rumours of misbehaviour reached me, I asked graduate members of the fraternity, who were resident in the city, to have them investigated, and if serious to have the situation dealt with. Also, from time to time, representatives from the headquarters in the United States inspected the local branches, and they usually came to see me, and expressed themselves as being eager that their chapter should maintain standards of respectability. I never found that fraternities in Toronto secured controlling influence in the athletic and social life of the University, as they were reported as doing in the United States. When Hart House was opened after the war, it became, under Mr Bickersteth, a centre of common life among the men, which neutralized many influences that tended to segregation. On Sunday afternoons, each winter in a different house, by invitation I met groups of from twenty-five to thirty fraternity undergraduates for the study of a book of the New Testament. Many of them fell in the last war. Of those who remain, one and another, when our paths cross, still remind me of those pleasant hours.

No more hopeful view of the character of our Canadian people can be obtained than that afforded by association with the students of Toronto. They represent all districts of the province: city, town, village and country; and all classes of society, rich and poor, though the vast majority come from homes of moderate comfort due to thrift, discipline and work. They inherit instincts of decency, good moral prepossessions and religious attitudes. They are steady and intelligent, reasonable in their conduct, and show commonsense in their affairs. They are not easily excitable, nor greatly swayed by emotion. Professors and lecturers from other countries have often remarked to me on our Canadian students. They were impressed by their diligence, though surprised by their lack of criticism. Our average student was fully up to the standard of those they had known, and some of our best had no reason to fear comparison with the best in the British universities. But it was in the sciences and allied subjects that ours made the highest showing. It can hardly be denied that relatively we have not done so well in the humanities. Interest in literature, speculative thought and the fine arts is less keen in Canada than in European lands. As I see it, there are two causes for this. There has been no powerful tradition, nor a cultivated class concentrated in com-

paratively small areas. Our educated people have been scattered in select groups in cities far distant from one another, or in small towns and villages with few literary contacts and few publications to stimulate such interests. Further, in English-speaking Canada we have been dominated by the colonial mind. We look to Britain or to the United States for our ideals. We lack confidence in ourselves for creative effort. It would be well for us to remember that absolute standards of culture do not exist. Culture is relative to historical and national experience. This fact was amusingly illustrated for me years ago. In September, 1914, just after the opening of the last war, I returned to Canada in company with Paul Shorey, Professor of Greek in the University of Chicago, by common consent one of the most eminent humanists of his day. He was coming home after a year in Berlin as an exchange professor. At a farewell dinner attended by some of Germany's *élite*, he was informed with casual complacency by a high personage seated beside him that the Germans were the most cultivated people in the world (probably the word *Kultur*, more nearly "civilization," was used); the French, his fellow-guest said, had some culture, the English a little, the Americans none at all. To return to our own case: while we are the happy inheritors of other cultures, especially the English, we must weave their strands into new patterns with new colours for our own.

A third of a century ago Canada was still a loosely connected string of provinces. Down by the sea struggling colleges looked either to the Old Country or to New England. In Montreal there was McGill, national in respect of her medical and engineering faculties. French culture in Quebec was isolated. Queen's University contributed a good deal to the West. Toronto with her colleges had the strongest Arts faculty in the Dominion, and offered the best foundation for a post-graduate school. Except in Manitoba, no provincial university existed in the West. Now a spirit of unity is growing strong through the country. For furthering this by culture the University of Toronto has great opportunity. Situated in the largest English-speaking centre, she has an obligation second to none. Her standards of teaching and of research must be kept at the highest, her libraries and laboratories must be extended and more adequately equipped, all possible aid must be given to other universities which may reasonably look to her, and active sympathy to institutions and societies for the promotion of science, learning, literature, and the fine arts.

THE MEANING OF ECONOMIC DEMOCRACY

C. B. Macpherson

THE term *economic democracy* has been used so loosely by so many writers in the popular press and elsewhere that it is in danger of having no meaning at all or any meaning anyone cares to give it. Since this is what commonly happens to a concept which expresses some real, popular aspirations, we need not view the fact with too much concern. But some attempt at clear definition is necessary. Economic democracy, then, may be defined as an economic order which would make possible the realization of the purposes or values which political democracy can no longer realize by itself. Alternatively it may be defined as an economic order which would make democracy work, or permit it to be more nearly democratic. Such a definition, I believe, comes close to stating the essential meaning of the phrase, *economic democracy*. For it should be noticed that it is not just a question of what meaning the term could possibly have. It is a question of finding in the term some meaning at once fairly definite and fairly real, that is, expressing the real hopes and intentions of those who use the term. We are trying to understand a real movement, or rather an idea which the adherents of many movements—trade unionists, new dealers, co-operators, socialists—share to a greater or lesser extent. That idea is not conveyed by a mere literal interpretation of the two words, economic democracy. Yet it is not necessary to go as far as Professor MacIver, who, after showing with deceptive clarity that a strict interpretation of the words gives an absurd result, goes on to argue that *economic democracy* is a "question-begging phrase," involving a "misuse of language" against which he emphatically protests.[1]

We may agree with Professor MacIver that this strict meaning of the words does not convey the real notion embodied in the phrase. But I do not believe that the phrase is therefore a misuse of language or an unfair attempt to capture the word *democracy*, with all its favourable connotations, for proposals which are not essentially democratic. If we think of democracy as not merely a

[1]R. M. MacIver, *Leviathan and the People* (Louisiana, 1939), pp. 84-6.

set of institutions—popular parties and majority rule—but as a set of purposes or ends to which these institutions are but means, it is surely legitimate to hold that any other institutions, including economic ones, which can be shown to be also essential means to the democratic ends are equally entitled to the shelter and support of the word *democracy*. I conclude therefore that the phrase *economic democracy* may fairly be used to mean such an arrangement of the economic system as is believed to be a necessary means to the ends which democratic thinkers and movements have always sought. Proposals for economic democracy today are proposals for such rearrangements of the relations between capital and labour and the state as the proponents believe necessary to make democracy real.

So much for definition. It is apparent that this definition raises more problems than it settles, as is the way with definitions. What are the ends or purposes of democracy? Why is a rearrangement of economic relations necessary today to provide any chance of those ends being realized? What rearrangements are most likely to provide their realization? These are the main questions to which this article is devoted. And luckily they are not entirely abstract questions. They are questions partly of political philosophy and partly of administration, but even in so far as they are questions of political philosophy they exist in a definite historical setting. The democratic philosophy has been stated by generations of democratic thinkers; the forces which have to be contended with, as well as the forces which may aid, in the attempt to realize this philosophy today are capable of historical and empirical analysis.

To come to the first of these questions: What are the essential ends which democratic thinkers and movements have commonly proposed and sought? The basic postulate of democrats is the equal humanity of every individual, the belief that each human being has a life to live as much as any other human being, and, therefore, that each has a right to live it as fully as his capacities allow, always, of course, so far as is consistent with others having the same right. Democracy, in other words, is, and has always been, a protest against the class privilege which prevents some people, by reason of their class position, from having equal access with others to the means of self-development. The purpose of democratic movements, the essential democratic end, has always been to secure the conditions for the equal consideration of indi-

viduals in this sense. (Or it might be more accurate to say that the purpose of democratic movements has always been to break down the institutional obstacles to such equality of consideration; and it may be suggested in passing that it is because democracy has seemingly taken this negative form that it has been so open to attack by the seemingly positive, but in reality barren creeds of fascism.)

It has been easy enough for democratic thinkers to show that among the conditions for this equal consideration were the political institutions which have since been largely realized in modern democratic states: equality before the law, adult franchise and periodical elections to ensure the responsibility of the government to the majority, and freedom of speech, publication and association, without which minorities can not make their voices heard nor have the opportunity of becoming majorities. However, after these political institutions were achieved, or even before they were at all fully achieved, it began to be apparent that these were not the only things necessary if the democratic end was to have a chance of being realized. For the economic system was developing in a way which necessarily rendered political democracy less effective towards realizing the democratic end than the earlier proponents of democracy had thought it would be.

If we look at this development we shall be on our way towards answering the second and third questions: Why is a rearrangement of economic relations necessary today to provide a chance of the democratic end being realized? And what sort of rearrangement is most likely to do it? It should be said at once that it is very doubtful whether the democratic end can ever be realized at all fully. It was one of the fathers of the United States of America who asked, "What is government itself but the greatest of all reflections on human nature?"[2] And at about the same time Voltaire remarked that the dispute between democracy and monarchy "always ends in an admission that it is very difficult to govern men."[3] But if we agree with these views of the limitations of politics, it is still open to us to seek as thoroughly and work as vigorously for far-reaching changes as the American federalists and Voltaire did in their day. Differences in the form of government may be matters of degree, but we have come to see these differences of degree assume such immensity that they fill our whole horizon.

[2]The *Federalist*, No. 51 (Hamilton or Madison).
[3]*Dictionnaire Philosophique*, s.v. "Démocratie."

It is worth while, therefore, to consider in what ways modern economic development has raised obstacles to the realization of the democratic philosophy. It has done so on two levels. It has, first, in various ways necessarily distorted the democratic political process so that the standard political institutions of the democratic state do not automatically secure that equal consultation of the interests of all, which they were expected to secure. It has, secondly, raised new obstacles to equality of opportunity and equality of consideration within the sphere of the economic relations of individuals. For great numbers of individuals, the ways in which they must get their living have been altered and narrowed; the kind of life they may live has been similarly confined. Both the distortion of the democratic process and the narrowing of the sphere of individual opportunity have flowed from the increasing inequality of wealth and the increasing concentration of economic power, which have been among the natural results of the development of modern capitalism. The contrast between the rough equality of the pioneer farming community and the class divisions in America today provides the sharpest picture of this development. No amount of talk about the growth of a new "middle class" of technicians and professional people, which the development of capitalism has also called into being, can do more than temporarily obscure the real growth of inequality and the real concentration of control.[4]

The ways in which this inequality of wealth and concentration of economic power operate today to inhibit the democratic process are not so obscure as to require any long analysis. In so far as access to information is a prerequisite of intelligently effective voting, the control of the press and other sources of information by necessarily large capital interests is an obvious factor in preventing the free play of the democratic process. Political parties, which are apparently indispensable for the working of any large-scale democratic system, are expensive to organize and have tended naturally to move in the orbit of property interests. Labour parties can be organized, but their organization and maintenance must be continually handicapped. Back of the parties, in the democratic process, stand the many associations representing the interests of occupational, religious, racial, and other sections of the

[4]See the Temporary National Economic Committee's monographs on the Concentration of Economic Power (Washington, U.S. Government Printing Office, 1940-1).

whole community. These "pressure groups"—to use the jargon of political science—have become (on this continent at least, because of the comprehensiveness of political parties) more effective channels than the parties for bringing individual wills to bear on the policy of the state. It is easy to observe that the pressure groups which represent property interests, or which can command wealth, have an influence far out of proportion to the numbers they represent. All this is elementary, but it is well to remind ourselves that in these and other ways the modern concentration of wealth and economic power automatically operates to distort the democratic process.

That political power is very apt to be in the hands of those who have economic power has been a commonplace of political science at least since Aristotle. The only thing that is new is that political power still tends to follow property, in spite of the completely democratic franchise. The wonder perhaps is that it should ever have been thought that the existence of democratic political institutions alone would seriously modify this age-old rule. As a matter of fact, American democratic thinkers in the eighteenth century did *not* think it would. That power always follows property was a favourite theme of Jefferson and John Taylor and Noah Webster. "Wherever we cast our eyes," the last-named wrote, "we see the truth, that property is the basis of power. . . ."[5] And they drew from this the conclusion that, in Taylor's words: "Wealth, like suffrage, must be considerably distributed, to sustain a democratic republic. . . . As power follows wealth, the majority must have wealth or lose power."[6] These democrats therefore urged various measures to prevent the concentration of wealth and the emergence of a large unpropertied class. They saw as their chief enemy the new financial and commercial corporations, through which the process of concentration was already beginning. Taylor denounced corporate property as the very opposite of private property, since it grew at the expense of private property. "If the fruit of labor is private property," he asked, "can stealing this fruit from labour also make private property?" And he concluded: "Tythes and stock, invented to take away private property, are as correctly called private property as a guillotine could be called a head."[7]

[5]Quoted in Edwin Mims, Jr., *The Majority of the People* (New York, 1941), pp. 223-4.

[6]*Ibid.*, p. 225. [7]*Ibid.*, p. 228.

It was, however, too late even then to prevent the rise of corporate capitalism. The appeal to the individualist right to the fruits of labour, against the corporate right to unlimited corporate property, was unavailing. All the democratic reform movements in the nineteenth century, most of which based themselves on such an appeal, failed to stop the advance of capitalism and the ever-increasing concentration of wealth and of economic control. The essential antagonism between democracy and the distribution of property, which the Jeffersonian democrats foresaw, was becoming greater every decade. Yet, for the most part, during the nineteenth century this antagonism was prevented from developing fully. In America the existence of free land on the western frontier provided a measure of equality of opportunity, which diluted the concentration of wealth and mitigated its effects. In England the policy of economic imperialism brought a stream of profits, which made possible a continuous series of concessions to the working class by way of social legislation and state social services. Thus in both England and America the underlying antagonism between democracy and the concentration of property has not fully emerged until this century, and has not been widely perceived until fairly recently, although there have always been some groups who have seen it and tried to act on it.

During the period when the antagonism was latent, politics in a democratic state became the art of adjusting the claims of the various interest groups, and democracy came in general to be regarded as a system of government which could satisfy everybody by giving free play to groups. This was an extension of the policy of *laissez-faire*, with which democratic government was associated from the beginning. But this picture of the democratic process is a recognizable portrait only to the extent that the frontier or the expanding economy is preventing the changes in the distribution of property from having the effects which the Jeffersonians foresaw. As the frontier and the expanding—that is, the sufficiently expanding—economy have disappeared, the basic difficulty of democracy has emerged. The right which it was once the chief object of the democrats to secure, because it was then regarded as a right without which the free and equal individual could not attain his full stature—i.e. the right to the unrestricted use of private property—has now become incompatible with most individuals' attainment of that stature. The inference drawn by an exponent of economic

democracy is that the unrestricted right to property must go if real democracy is to have a chance.

It is obvious that the unrestricted right to property has gone to some extent already. State regulation and state intervention in economic life have become familiar features in every industrial state. Part of this, of course, has come at the request of various sections of the industrial and commercial property interests, who have rightly or wrongly indentified their own with the national interests. Tariffs, subsidies, state control or regulation of transport and electric-power facilities and rates, are examples of this sort of intervention, which is (or is intended to be) favourable to property. But other types of state intervention have come as a result of democratic pressure from the working class and from those of small property. Minimum-wage legislation, unemployment-relief policies, trade-union legislation, housing and rent control, may be cited as examples of this type of intervention, not to mention the state provision of free education and other social services, which constitutes an indirect transfer of wealth.

The pressure which has brought these measures of state intervention continues, and is one of the forms which the demand for economic democracy is taking today. Now, these measures are well enough in themselves—they lessen the sense of insecurity and provide some things which are of human value to those who would not have them if left to their own devices and to the mercies of impersonal economic forces. Such measures may therefore be regarded as instalments of economic democracy. But these measures so far have not essentially altered the concentration of property and of economic power which we have seen to be an obstacle to the democratic political process. It may be objected that if the organized working class has been able to get all the concessions just mentioned by using the democratic political process, then there seems to be no serious obstacle to their continuing to do so. It is hazardous to predict how serious the obstacle is or may become in any country, but clearly there may be a limit to the concessions that the owners are willing to make. A limit is likely to be reached at the point where the expectations of both classes cannot be met out of a no longer sufficiently expanding economy.

With those who have seen the seriousness of this obstacle, the demand for economic democracy has become a demand for a more radical redistribution of economic power than any that has taken

place so far. With some, this has taken the form of a demand for the socialization of all productive property; with others it is a demand that existing democratic states should rapidly increase their control over all spheres of economic activity so that the politically democratic state should gather to itself most of the economic power.

II

If my analysis of the present hindrances to the fuller working of the democratic political process is correct, it would follow that either of these proposals, to the extent that it was workable, would remove the hindrances. That is, these proposals seem to be broad answers to the third question: What rearrangement of economic relations is likely to provide a chance of the democratic ends being realized? But it is well to observe the difficulties in each of these answers.

The socialist proposal means the taking over of all private capital by the state. It is probable that the property-owners would resist this. If so, and if they were prepared to resist by force, there would be a period of struggle in which the existing degree of democracy would disappear, since democracy is possible only so long as there is general agreement to be bound by the decision of the majority. And if a socialist majority should be successful in such a struggle, there can be no guarantee in advance that substantial democracy would then be introduced, although that would have been the purpose of the whole attempt. It is a difficult thing to return from a basis of force to a basis of agreement, although the return to a basis of agreement has been the outcome of all the successful revolutions of the past.

The other proposal—that the existing democratic state should so extend its controls as to become the real centre of economic power, thus giving democratic control over the corporate concentration of wealth while leaving corporate private ownership of capital—tries to avoid the main difficulty of the socialist proposal. But it is open to question whether, in trying to avoid that difficulty, it does not also avoid or even aggravate the problem it was intended to meet. For it is probable that a government which got that much control over capital would find itself more than ever controlled by the representatives of capital. There are, for instance, excellent reasons of efficiency why the various controllers appointed by the

Canadian government to administer the price ceiling and other measures of war-time economic control, have usually been chosen from the outstanding private enterprisers in each of the branches of industry and commerce which is to be regulated. These men presumably bring with them to their new work their lifelong attitudes of mind. Thus the administrative reaches of the government are likely to be permeated with the business-man's view as to the respective rights of capital and government. There is no doubt that they will modify such views where the exigences of war require it, but we cannot expect such modification to be carried over after the end of the war. We may assume that there will be a period of several years of post-war reconstruction during which an elaborate mechanism of governmental controls of the economic system will be just as necessary as it has been during the war. If, in such a post-war period, the representatives of private capital play as large a part as they do now, it is questionable whether the state control of economic life would be a great step in the direction of economic democracy. And it is in this context of war and post-war controls that any proposals for reaching economic democracy by way of government control will have to operate. We can at least say that if the government control of economic life is to yield any economic democracy, there will have to be a very strong, conscious and well-organized popular movement continually pressing on the government.

There is a further difficulty, common to the proposal for complete socialization and the proposals for the extension of state control over private economic enterprise. This is, that any attempt by a state to take over any considerable measure of economic control means that the people have to place more power in the hands of the government. A greater concentration of *political* power is needed to give the government the strength to deal with the already great concentration of economic power. The people must yield extraordinary powers to the government; they must forgo some of that democratic control which they are seeking to increase. Further, the government must set up an enormous structure of boards and bureaus and departments, with permanent staffs of professional economists and professional administrators; and the more complicated their work becomes, the more indispensable and hence the more powerful they become. In other words, in addition to the special difficulty of the possible permeation

of the administrative level of government by the private-enterprise outlook, there is the general difficulty of the necessarily increasing strength of both the executive government (that is, cabinet or president) and the civil service. This tendency towards increasing the power of the executive government and of the civil service is not, of course, merely a theoretical forecast; it is a statement of what is already happening. Government by executive order has become the rule rather than the exception. This is not simply the result of present war urgencies; the tendency is fifty years old in England and it has been a very obvious trend in the United States at least since the inception of the New Deal.

The danger is, then, that any government which takes over substantial control of the economy will in the process become much less responsive to parliament or congress and to the democratically expressed will of the people. How great is this danger? I do not believe that there is any insuperable mechanical obstacle to the democratic control of a strong executive and a bureaucracy, provided that the people are determined to exercise some control. Those who see the decline of parliament and congress in the fact that these bodies have handed over so much of their law-making power to the executive, sometimes overlook the existence of organized interest groups, which, when the power of parliament declines, increase their direct pressure on government at the executive and civil service level. Government by pressure groups is not as democratic as an ideal government by parliament, for reasons I have mentioned, but it is a good deal more democratic than government by an unchecked bureaucracy. And it could be made even more democratic by an extension of the system of continuous consultative and advisory committees, in which there is direct and open contact between the various government departments and the representatives of the organizations whose members would be affected—farmers, teachers, manufacturers, metal-workers, milk-producers, and so on. This development has already gone a considerable distance in England[8] and can be taken further; it is a method of regularizing lobbying and depriving it as far as possible of its sinister implications.

Such standing consultative committees may of course be intentionally or unintentionally ineffective; we do not need to look far

[8] *Cf.* R. H. Vernon and H. Mansergh (eds.), *Advisory Bodies: A Study of Their Uses in Relation to Central Government, 1919-1939* (London, 1940).

for examples. There are few governments which do not move by covering their exposed flanks with a network of committees. The National Labour Supply Council, set up by Canadian order-in-council in June, 1940, "to advise on any matter touching labour supply . . . referred to it by the Minister of Labour," and consisting of an equal number of representatives of employers and of labour, has been regarded by at least some trade-union officials who have had experience with it, as an unreal body which is consulted after the real decisions have been made, or is given inadequate time to consider important matters which are formally proposed to it. Advisory or consultative committees can be made more real only by the ever-stronger organization of those who want them to be made real, and by the wider general recognition of what is at stake. With an extension of such mechanisms, and of other devices which recent students of public administration have suggested for making the reviewing power of parliament more effective,[9] it should not be impossible to provide for at least as great a measure of control by representatives of the people as any that has hitherto been exercised.[10] It should be emphasized, however, that such mechanisms themselves are of no use unless there is in the country a continuous, widespread and organized demand that they shall be made to work. Devices, for instance, for making more effective parliament's review of the actions of the executive are of no use if parliament seldom meets. The contrast between the recent practice of Canada and Great Britain in this respect is very disturbing, whether it is taken as a reflection on the Canadian public or on parliament or on the government.

If there is no insuperable mechanical obstacle to the democratic control of a government which controls the economic system, there still remains another difficulty. It has often been said that power corrupts the holders of power, that those who are put in power by a democratic reform movement begin well, but come to value power for its own sake and direct their policy towards getting and keeping a monopoly of power for themselves. Much of the dis-

[9] *Cf.* W. I. Jennings, *Parliamentary Reform* (London, 1934); Ramsay Muir, *How Britain Is Governed* (London, 3rd ed., 1933); Sir Stafford Cripps, *Democracy Up-To-Date: Some Practical Suggestions for the Reorganization of the Political and Parliamentary System* (London, 1939).

[10] For a discussion of some of the difficulties, see J. H. Corry, "Inquest on the Administrative Process" (*Canadian Journal of Economics and Political Science*, Feb., 1942).

trust, for instance, of the socialist theory of a transitional period either of dictatorship or at least of strong executive control, may be traced to the fear that the period would not be transitional. And the cry of dictatorship which has been raised against popular Presidents of the United States, from Andrew Jackson to Franklin Roosevelt, is supported by the same line of reasoning. It will not be denied that highly-concentrated executive power is dangerous from the democratic point of view. Yet it may be observed that the danger has been deliberately exaggerated by the interested opponents of democracy. This is an old technique of those whose privileges are threatened. By declaiming against the great powers which have been given to the popular leader, they hope to divert popular attention from the great undemocratic powers they themselves have exercised and are trying to protect. Usually their arguments are plausible; as Tom Paine said of that most splendid spokesman of privilege, Edmund Burke, "he has mounted in the air like a balloon, to draw the eyes of the multitude from the ground they stand upon."[11] The dark mutterings against "that man in the White House" are equally distracting if not equally elevating.

It appears, then, that the general feeling against the concentration of executive power should sometimes be discounted a little. We may at least try to distinguish between those who seek political power to protect economic privilege and those who seek it for the opposite reason. In so far as power is dangerous even when wielded by the latter, there are no safeguards beyond the mechanisms previously mentioned and the steady and active pressure of public opinion organized in many sections and expressing itself in many forms. If these safeguards seem inadequate and if as a result one should conclude that the risks are too great, it would be necessary to point out that these are risks which are inherent in the concentration of executive power for *any* purpose, and that that concentration has come to stay whether it is used for purposes of economic democracy or not. The danger is there, whether the thing is put to democratic purposes or not.

III

One of the forms which the pressure of one section of public opinion may take, is the participation of industrial workers in some aspects of the management of their industries, or, as it is some-

[11] *Rights of Man*, Pt. I.

times called, industrial democracy. So far in this article we have been concerned mainly with only one level of proposals for economic democracy, that is, with proposals for the democratic control of the economy by bringing the economy under the control of a democratic state. I have discussed the two main sorts of these proposals and indicated some of the difficulties and possibilities of each. Both of them, as we have seen, accept the fact of the existing concentration of economic power and seek to bring it under the control of the democratic state by having the state take over the power at the points of concentration. We may now consider another level of proposals for economic democracy, namely proposals for the direct participation of labour in the control of the factory or the industry.

Such labour participation in the control of private industry as is now possible can be regarded only as a supplement, though a valuable and necessary supplement, to the democratic political control or regulation of industry. Let us see what this labour participation in the control of industry now amounts to, and what its possibilities and limits are. It amounts to rather less than the phrase "participation in the control of industry" might seem to imply. Those who have built up the system of participation have not sought to take from the managers and owners any share in the economic control of the enterprise. They have not attempted to share in the determination of price or sales or production policy. They have not, in other words, tried to take part in the entrepreneurial functions of the management, in the use to be made of the firm's capital. They have accepted the private ownership and management of the industries.

What they have tried to do is to democratize relations between management and employees within the factory and within the industry. They have tried to set up in each plant a constitutional monarchy, so to speak, instead of an irresponsible one; it is the Whig revolution in the factory. Where this has been achieved, the resulting situation is not of course a democracy; for the numerical majority does not control everything. What it means is that the workers in each shop or department, or in the firm as a whole and, if possible, in all the firms in that industry, choose representatives who uphold the employees' interests as against those of the management and who negotiate to secure certain rights which it is then their function to help administer.

The workers through their representatives may thus share with

the management the control of working conditions, factory discipline, hiring and firing, and such things as the administration of a piece-rate system. Some of these functions can be carried out by shop councils, for instance, questions of the arrangement of work in each shop, the distribution of working hours, and the allotting of different types and pieces of work to different men in the shop. All except the most standardized type of large-scale production leaves room for this type of shop organization, and all except the quite small-scale units of production require it. It adds to the human stature of the worker; it also increases the efficiency of production in the plant. The shop council however is, under modern conditions, not self-sufficient. As the scale of industrial organization has increased, replacing the individual employer by the large impersonal corporation which may control dozens or, through mergers and trusts, hundreds of plants, the scale of labour organization has had to increase also. Much of the protection of conditions of work, as well as of wages, now depends on the negotiation of collective agreements, which must be the work of trade unions of the sort we are now familiar with. The trade unions have become the essential instruments in the movement for more "industrial democracy" as that term is generally understood; that is, for the rearrangement of relations between management and employees.

The right of labour to organize in independent trade unions with officials of its own choice, the right of the unions to undertake collective bargaining with employers, and the right to strike, have after long struggle been recognized by all democratic states. Organized labour has always insisted, and democratic states have in recent decades admitted, that these rights are necessary to prevent the human beings who in the mass are "the industrial labour force" from being degraded to the status of machines, and it is clear that the trade unions have done and can do a great deal to humanize the position of industrial workers. But there is still some question as to whether the trade unions are proper instruments for the achievement of economic democracy. Are they democratic themselves, and can they remain so? It will be generally granted that their purpose is democratic in the sense of our original definition of economic democracy; that is, the unions are pressing for certain arrangements within the economic system which are necessary means to a realization of the democratic end, the securing of an

equal right of individuals to self-development. Further, the structure of trade unions is generally democratic, although there are some notorious exceptions among the American craft unions.

The question has frequently been raised, however, whether trade unions of the modern type are democratic in any other sense. On this continent the question has lately centred around the issue of the open shop versus the closed shop. In an open shop an employee is free to belong to a union or not; in a closed shop every employee is required, as a condition of employment, to belong to the union to which the majority of employees belong. The trend in the trade-union movement in America today seems to be in the direction of the closed shop. Those who oppose this trend argue that the closed shop is less democratic than the open shop, and that the trade-union movement is deserting the principles of democracy in moving towards the closed-shop principle. It is easy to see the main points of this argument. The closed shop, it is said, is undemocratic because it denies the individual worker the freedom to choose whether or not he will belong to a union and so be bound by the decisions of the majority within the union. Or else it is held that the closed shop is undemocratic because it prohibits the formation of a rival union by those who find an existing union unsatisfactory. Let us consider these arguments in turn.

There is no question that the closed-shop principle does deprive the individual of his freedom not to join a union; the minority are forced to join the union to which the majority belong. But to argue that the closed shop is therefore undemocratic, is fallacious. Democracy involves many restrictions on individual liberty; any form of state does so. In a democratic state, not only are all the citizens bound by the decision of the majority, as are all the members of a union; but further, no one has any effective choice whether he will belong to a state or not. Democracy, in other words, is not the same thing as individual freedom. It is easy to confuse democracy and freedom, since the end of democracy is the provision of the conditions for individual self-development, and these conditions may be stated as freedoms. But democracy, like any other form of government, is a matter of giving up some individual liberties in order to ensure other individual liberties which we think more important. Which liberties need to be given up will vary with changing social and economic conditions. The liberty of the individual to use his capital unrestrictedly was once regarded as one

of the essential liberties which must be retained; now it is regarded as one of the liberties which must be given up if we are to retain the liberties essential to equal individual opportunities for self-development. Where does the liberty not to join a trade union stand? In modern conditions of large-scale organization I believe that the liberty not to join a trade union which the majority in the plant have joined, is one of the liberties that will have to be given up, in America at least, if the essential democratic liberties are to be secured. We have to think about this problem in terms of the situation that has actually developed, and on this continent it has developed along lines rather different from the British. In Great Britain the closed shop has not been a great issue because collective bargaining has been generally accepted by managements for several decades. But in America the demand for the closed shop has become very much part of, and sometimes almost identical with, the demand for collective bargaining, chiefly because American employers have tried (often successfully) to use an open-shop policy in order to stamp out trade unionism of any kind in their industries.

If the right not to join a trade union which the majority concerned have joined is a right which in the now developing American situation must be given up in order to achieve the more essential democratic ends, so too is the right to withdraw and form a directly competing union, and for similar reasons. On the practical level, where such a right is admitted it is likely to be invoked to weaken the trade-union movement as a whole by playing off the unions against each other. This in itself is perhaps not a sufficient reason for urging the denial of the right; that a right or privilege is liable to abuse is not a sufficient reason for refusing to admit it at all, if it follows necessarily from an underlying principle which is agreed upon. Does the right to withdraw and form an alternative union follow necessarily from the democratic principle? A simple analogy between trade union and state would show that it is the right of secession that is in question here, a right which a democratic state does not normally recognize as pertaining to any minority of its citizens. Arguments by analogy, however, are notoriously misleading. In this case it might be argued that the analogy fails because the difference between a state and any other association is precisely that the state is the one completely compulsory association and must be so from the nature of its function. This shows the

weakness of the argument by analogy; it shows also that reasoning from general principles is insufficient unless those principles include not only forms but purposes. It is the purpose, i.e. the functions, of the state which require its compulsory nature. Do the functions of trade unions require them to be compulsory to the extent involved in the closed-shop principle? I have already shown reason to believe that they do require it in the situation which is developing in America, where the relation of management to unions makes it impossible in many cases for the unions to play their part in enlarging economic democracy without the recognition of the closed shop.

In arguing that the closed shop is in these circumstances a necessary part of economic democracy I do not wish to overlook the undemocratic possibilities inherent in it. The real fear of some of those who oppose it is that, if the closed shop is widely established, the unions will become oligarchical, each within its own structure, and that there will be no remedy left to those members, perhaps a scattered majority, who radically disagree with the policy determined by a compact executive. Their last remedy, the formation of a rival union, would no longer be available.

The danger of oligarchy is present in any large union, and the danger is somewhat greater where there is a closed shop because in that case the trade-union leader is less dependent, for the maintenance of his position, on the support of the union members than he is where the union has still a position to win. But the danger of oligarchy in the unions is the same danger that besets any large-scale organization which achieves a position of power in the community. The danger is inseparable from the size and power of the organization. It is the same danger that we noticed on the political level; a danger attendant on the increasing scope of governmental activity and power. Yet an increase in the size and in the power of both unions and governments appears to be required by the demands for economic democracy. If a union is to be an effective agency of economic democracy it must be powerful; if it reaches a position of sufficient power (through achieving union recognition, and the closed shop where that is necessary) its structure is in danger of becoming undemocratic. The danger is there, and it is a risk which will be run. For as the situation has developed now, full union recognition is essential to any considerable degree of economic democracy; until this recognition is granted, the unions

will not be able to play a generally useful part as constructive, negotiating and labour-discipline-enforcing bodies.

* * *

To sum up, then, the movement for economic democracy[12] both on the political and on the industrial level requires the development of units of organization with an increasingly wider scope and with increasing power. The increase in scope and in power which is necessary both in the state and in the trade unions brings with it the dangers of bureaucracy and oligarchy in both. But this is only to say that it is necessary to set an oligarch to catch an oligarch, and perhaps even a bureaucrat to catch a bureaucrat. The main source of hope, from the democratic point of view, is that none of these movements for economic democracy is apt to go far without being pressed by such a force of popular will as may be sufficient to keep the new leaders responsive to popular control.

[12]I have said nothing about the co-operative movement, whose principles contain many of the essentials of economic democracy. Limitations of space forbid its discussion, since without venturing to give a judgment on the prospects of the co-operative movement in Canada, one may say that it is unlikely in the next decade to be as important as the movements which have been discussed here. It is limitations of space, again, rather than absence of material, that has prevented any fuller consideration of specifically Canadian economic democracy, although it must be acknowledged that Canada lags behind other democratic countries in this matter. But the degree of economic democracy which is achieved here will depend as much on our appreciation of the basic issues and their main implications as it will on our knowledge of the Canadian situation.

". . . AND ON HIS CREST SAT HORROR"

EIGHTEENTH-CENTURY INTERPRETATIONS OF MILTON'S SUBLIMITY AND HIS SATAN

ARTHUR BARKER

MILTON'S reputation in the eighteenth century has already been so thoroughly examined that another article on the subject must seem superfluous.[1] I am however less concerned with Milton and his influence on literary practice than with the development of certain ideas which played an important part in the evolution of Romanticism and readily found illustration in his work. Few of us still believe that the paradoxical interpretation of *Paradise Lost* set forth by Blake and Shelley, expanded by other early nineteenth-century writers, and given respectability by Sir Walter Raleigh, sprang fully-armed from the miraculous marriage of Heaven and Hell effected by Romantic inspiration over the dead body of Neo-classicism. We understand nineteenth-century Romanticism better through seeing it as the fruit of a steady (though complex) growth. I propose to trace and document two minor elements in this complexity which have not, I think, received much attention: the interpretation of Milton's sublimity, and of his Satan.[2] Such a study should throw some indirect light on our own interpretation of *Paradise Lost;* but its purpose is to examine the emergence of the romantic attitude from the neo-classical, not in aesthetic theory or literary practice, but in one specific critical instance.

[1]See E. Dowden, "Milton and the Eighteenth Century," and J. G. Robertson, "Milton's Fame on the Continent" (*Proceedings of the British Academy*, 1907-8); J. W. Good, *Studies in the Milton Tradition* (University of Illinois Studies in Language and Literature, I, 1913); R. D. Havens, *Influence of Milton*, 1922; Ants Oras, *Milton's Editors and Commentators*, 1931. To all of these I am indebted, and also to Professor A. S. P. Woodhouse, whose course in the Graduate School, The Origins of Romanticism, directed my attention to the subject several years ago.

[2]S. H. Monk's *The Sublime: A Study of Critical Theories in the 18th Century*, 1935, provides a very full account of the development of the principle in aesthetics. For Satanism in the late eighteenth and the nineteenth centuries, see E. Railo, *The Haunted Castle*, 1927; M. J. Rudwin, *The Devil in Legend and Literature*, 1931; M. Praz, *The Romantic Agony*, 1933.

Milton's influence on eighteenth-century opinion was unique in that he alone among the great English poets was at once sufficiently neo-classical to recommend himself and sufficiently irregular to exert a salutary pressure against inflexible canons. Spenser had to wait till 1754 to be defended in his "barbarity" by Warton. Shakespeare, though loved, was regarded as a "natural genius" whose achievements were sometimes remarkable in spite of his ignorance of what was fitting. But Milton had written of poetry in terms which were commonplaces among the Augustans; and Addison could set him among the more correct in Apollo's court, with Virgil, Tully, and others who had "formed themselves by rules and submitted the greatness of their natural geniuses to the corrections and restraints of art."[3] *Paradise Lost* was, moreover, the only English epic which could challenge comparison with classical and Italian epics. Throughout the first half of the century attempts were consequently made to refute the criticism of Dryden and Rymer, that it offended against epic rule. Such attempts could be successful only if the rules were liberalized; and even before Shakespeare's influence began to have its full effect, Milton's Italianate Neo-classicism was offsetting the more precise French doctrine. In particular he exemplified that sublimity beyond the reach of regular art for which the treatise of Longinus suggested a critical justification. Boileau, and after him Pope and Addison, endeavoured to fit this elevating and transporting quality into the Neo-classical code.[4] Milton reminded the eighteenth century that the effect could be achieved in English.

This influence is already apparent in Addison's *Spectator* papers on *Paradise Lost* (1712). These admirable essays require no analysis here; but they provide an excellent point of departure: they established the normal eighteenth-century view of the poem,[5] and they indicate the two chief points at which it was to suffer transformation. Addison set out specifically to examine *Paradise Lost* "by the rules of epic poetry, and see whether it falls short of the

[3] *Spectator*, no. 160. I have modernized the spelling in quotations throughout.

[4] On the influence of the treatise *On the Sublime* ascribed to Dionysius Longinus, see Monk, *The Sublime;* Henn, *Longinus and English Criticism*, 1934; A. F. B. Clark, *Boileau and the French Classical Critics in England*, 1925, 361-79.

[5] Johnson said in his *Life* of Addison that the essays made "readers of every class think it necessary to be pleased" with the epic. Addison's influence is apparent in nearly every eighteenth-century discussion of the poem, in Felton's, Blair's, Johnson's, and Voltaire's English version of his *Essay upon Epic Poetry*.

Iliad or *Æneid* in the beauties which are essential to that kind of writing."[6] The result of his critique "according to Aristotle's method" was a triumphant vindication which showed the *Spectator*'s readers that Milton was sufficiently Augustan to warrant their admiration: the epic possesses "all the greatness of plan, regularity of design, and masterly beauties, which we discover in Homer and Virgil."[7]

Yet in some parts of his poem Milton had indulged in flights which could be justified only by appealing beyond the laws and by observing, "with Longinus, that the productions of a great genius, with many lapses and inadvertencies, are infinitely preferable to works of an inferior kind of author which are scrupulously exact and conformable to all the rules of correct writing."[8] This observation illustrates both Addison's good sense and the escape from straitness provided by Longinus. Especially in the cosmic parts of the epic, the sublimity justifies the comparative irregularity:

> It is impossible for the imagination of man to distend itself with greater ideas than those which he has laid together in his first, second, and sixth books. The seventh, which describes the creation of the world, is likewise wonderfully sublime. . . . Let the judicious reader compare what Longinus has observed on several passages in Homer, and he will find parallels for most of them in the *Paradise Lost*.[9]

As we shall see, this suggestion was to be remembered, and the idea of Milton's sublimity, especially in the books here mentioned, was to lead to enthusiasms quite beyond the reach of Neo-classicism.

That is also true of a second and closely related method of justification suggested by Addison. As Milton himself had claimed, there is a magnificence in *Paradise Lost* "much greater than could have been formed upon any pagan system."[10] This Christian advantage begot not only a sublimity but an originality of invention superior to Homer's, Virgil's, and even Shakespeare's:

> Homer and Virgil introduced persons whose characters are commonly known among men. . . . Milton's characters, most of them, lie out of nature, and were to be formed purely by his own invention. It shows a greater genius in Shakespeare to have drawn his Caliban than his Hotspur or Julius Caesar: the one was to be supplied out of his own imagination, whereas the other might have been formed upon tradition, history and observation. It was much easier therefore for Homer to find proper sentiments for an assembly of Grecian generals

[6] *Spectator*, no. 267. [7] *Ibid.*, no. 297. [8] *Ibid.*, no. 291.
[9] *Ibid.*, no. 279. [10] *Ibid.*, no. 267.

than for Milton to diversify his infernal council with proper characters and inspire them with a variety of sentiments.[11]

Addison has here suggested a contrast between mere imitation of nature and the inventions of sublimely original genius which was to be developed with remarkable consequences, finding support in an interpretation of Milton's devils, and especially their leader, which the author of *Cato* would have repudiated. For the polished Spectator was no Satanist. He suggests directions, but he did not himself pursue them. He felt that "most readers . . . are more charmed with Milton's description of Paradise than of Hell; they are both perhaps equally perfect in their kind; but in the one the brimstone and the sulphur are not so refreshing to the imagination as the beds of flowers and the wilderness of sweets in the other."[12] It was also his opinion that, because Milton never allowed his sublime originality to overcome his judgment, he kept the balance between "the probable and the marvellous."[13] We are to see how this nicely poised judgment was overturned.

II

In general the late seventeenth and early eighteenth centuries accepted Dryden's judgment that *Paradise Lost* was "one of the most sublime poems which either this age or nation has produced," but that it was insufficiently polished and not truly epic in subject.[1] Addison's attempt to disprove the negative part of this opinion was not altogether satisfactory to John Dennis, who somewhat ponderously linked the age of Dryden and the age of Pope. Dennis was torn between admiration for Milton, veneration of Dryden, and hatred of Addison and Pope (who dubbed him "Sir Tremendous Longinus"). He was annoyed with Addison for subjecting Milton to an examination by rule.[2] He had himself followed Le Bossu's *Traité du poème épique* in evaluating Blackmore's *Prince Arthur*; but whenever he thought of Milton, his enthusiasm for the sublime and his religious ardour came into violent conflict with his neo-

[11] *Ibid.*, no. 279. The passage proceeds to the loves of Dido and Aeneas and of Adam and Eve before the Fall.

[12] *Spectator*, no. 418; the eighth paper on the Imagination.

[13] *Ibid.*, no. 315.

[1] *Essays*, ed. Ker, I, 179; II, 29, 165.

[2] Introduction to *Remarks upon "Cato"*; see also *Reflections upon . . . an Essay upon Criticism*, 3, and Paul, *John Dennis*, 151, 194.

classical principles. He believed that "Virgil has infinitely the advantage of Milton in the wonderful contrivance of his poem, . . . and in the constant tenor of his majesty and his elevation."[3] He therefore preferred to admit with Dryden that the epic was full of flats and had two actions instead of one; and then to argue that Milton is to be admired above all "for one thing, and that is for having carried away the prize of sublimity from both ancients and moderns."[4]

Enthusiasm for sublimity led Dennis to stress Milton's original and divine inspiration. He had said of *Paradise Lost* that, "being so very different from what Homer and Virgil had ever thought of, it could not be entirely subjected to their rules"; for Milton's theme "threw him upon new thoughts, and new images, and an original spirit. . . ."[5] He surpassed the ancients (according to Dennis's most cherished theory) because of his contemplation of "those divine ideas that raised his soul and filled it with a noble greatness, which passion expressed makes the greatness of spirit."[6]

This statement contains significant implications. It was a commonplace of Milton criticism to say with Addison that the epic was the better for being Christian; but there were two quite distinct interpretations of this idea. For an interpreter whose religious opinions were based, like Addison's, on a conception of the reasonableness of the Creator and the regularity of his creation, it meant that Milton had managed to reflect the sublime justness of God's ways.[7] Henry Felton believed that "the thoughts which are natural to every sacred theme are so far exalted above the heathen poetry or philosophy that the meanest Christian . . . is able to surpass the noblest wits of antiquity in the truth and greatness of his sentiments."[8] Thus the Scriptures were the source from which Milton "derived his light, the sacred treasure that enriched his fancy and furnished him with all the truth and wonders

[3] *Reflections*, 219.

[4] *Proposals for Printing . . . the Following Miscellaneous Tracts . . .*, 1721, 2.

[5] *Specimen*, prefatory to the *Grounds of Criticism;* quoted Paul, *op. cit.*, 149.

[6] *Grounds of Criticism*, 1704, in Durham, *Critical Essays of the 18th Century*, 157.

[7] See A. O. Lovejoy, "The Parallel of Classicism and Deism" (*Modern Philology*, XXX).

[8] *Dissertation on Reading the Classics*, 1730, 192; first published 1713; see R. S. Crane, "Imitation of Spenser and Milton in the Early 18th Century" (*Studies in Philology*, XV, 195).

of God and his creation, of angels and men, which no mortal brain was able either to discover or conceive." The element of inspired originality implied by this statement accounts for the "force and richness of imagination" in which Milton seemed to Felton to surpass Homer; the element of truth, for the "justness of thought and exactness of work" in which he surpassed Virgil.[9] Sublimity and regularity are thus united.

When, however, the interpreter tended like Dennis towards religious enthusiasm, the emphasis on Milton's Christianity meant that he had managed to suggest a sublimity awful and dynamic. Actually, both views are present and in conflict in Dennis's remarks on Milton. When the neo-classicist is uppermost in him, he remembers that the contemplation of Christianity is a contemplation of revealed truth. The poet thus inspired will be imitating the supernatural, but the result will be like the imitation of nature in quality though not in kind. The ideas of God are just and reasonable; therefore sublime poetry must be just and reasonable; for, said he, in a sentence which clearly echoes Milton, "If the end of poetry be to instruct and reform the world, that is, to bring mankind from irregularity, extravagance and confusion, to rule and order, then poetry itself may not be irregular and extravagant, and must not swerve from rule, that is, from reason."[10] Unfortunately, Milton did seem to swerve from Le Bossu's epic rule and order; and the problem was complicated for Dennis by Addison's attempt to show that he did not swerve much, and by his own delight in Milton's extravagance.

Dennis could say of *Paradise Lost*, "Here is all that is great and sublime in reason."[11] But "passion" was also important for him as "the characteristic mark of poetry"; and he believed "enthusiasm in poetry is wonderful and sublime" especially when it arises from the contemplation of the supernatural.[12] In spite of himself he tended to emphasize what was awful and vast in Milton's sublimity. He experienced "infinite" and "transporting pleasures" at sight of the Alps, and contrasted the "delights consistent with reason" produced by "the prospect of hills and

[9] *Ibid.*, 227.

[10] *Grounds of Criticism;* Durham, *op. cit.*, 145.

[11] *Ibid.*, 160.

[12] *Advancement . . . of Modern Poetry;* quoted Paul, *op. cit.*, 135; and *Grounds of Criticism*, 162.

valleys, of flowery meads and murmuring streams," with those "unusual transports that are mingled with horrors and sometimes with despair."[13] He experienced unusual transports when he read Milton, especially the description of Satan, his address to the Sun, and the accounts of Chaos and the Creation. Of part of Book VII he said that there was nothing so sublime in Homer and Virgil: "The reader who sees the inequalities in it will easily perceive that it derives its greatness from the becoming thoughts which it has of the deity."[14]

As the apologetic reference to inequalities suggests, Dennis would never quite allow himself to say that parts of the epic were eminently sublime *because* they were unequal. With his passion for sublimity and his neo-classical principles, exasperation drove him to term *Paradise Lost* at once "the most lofty and the most irregular poem that has ever been produced by the mind of man."[15] But the bolder statement was always on the tip of his tongue; and Pope and Addison drove him to assert that Milton was greater than the ancients because he is "more terrible, more lofty, more vehement, more astonishing, and has more impetuous and divine raptures."[16] Annoyance is a prime solvent of dilemmas; and the Milton problem was ultimately to be solved for the eighteenth century precisely as it was solved for Dennis. It is much easier to cry with Satan, "Hail, horrors, hail!" than to justify the ways of an epic poet.

III

As Mr Monk has said, "terror is the first of several qualities that, finding no very happy home in the well-planned . . . domain of neo-classicism, sought and found refuge in the sublime, which constantly gathered to itself ideas and emotions that were to be prominent in the poetry and prose of the romantic era."[1] This process is very clearly adumbrated in Milton criticism. The rules were being undermined when the painter Jonathan Richardson quoted a passage from Book I to illustrate the contention that "in writing, the sublime is consistent with great irregularity; nay,

[13] *Miscellanies in Prose and Verse*, 1693; quoted Paul, *op. cit.*, 5.
[14] *Grounds of Criticism*, 158.
[15] Quoted Paul, *op. cit.*, 193.
[16] *Reflections upon . . . an Essay upon Criticism;* Durham, *op. cit.*, 234.
[1] Monk, *The Sublime*, 52.

that very irregularity may produce that noble effect. . . ."[2] His son, also Jonathan, linked to this the idea of religious and original inspiration when he maintained that Milton's sublimest passages are "such as the heathen world were incapable of by infinite degrees, such as none but the noblest genius could attain to, and that assisted by a religion revealed by God himself"; and he added, "Himself was his own rule when in heights where none had gone before, and higher than which none can ever go."[3] Paul Rolli pressed farther when he said in reply to Voltaire's carpings, "All great epic poets have been helped by the senses . . . ; but Milton had almost no other help but that of his own fancy. The whole is almost all imaginary, and as he well says, 'Invisible to mortal sight.' "[4] And these ideas were found to be especially illustrated by those passages dealing with the fallen angels which, according to Patterson, exceeded "all human imagination, and all the astonishment or consternation that ever was or will be again."[5]

In spite of Addison, interest in the Satanic books was almost as great in the eighteenth century as in the nineteenth. This is apparent in the two eighteenth-century translations of *On the Sublime*, by Leonard Welsted (1712) and William Smith (1739), who also make clear the important connection between Longinus and Milton. Remembering Addison's suggestion, the translators take from *Paradise Lost* most of their parallels to the illustrative quotations of Longinus.[6] They agree that the loftiness of Milton's theme makes his poem more sublime than the classical epics,[7] but their passages are drawn chiefly from the opening books or the War in Heaven, especially where these are terrible.

Welsted expressed a decided preference for Milton over the correct Waller: "Waller abounds with a multitude of easy turns and sprightly strokes of fancy; Milton pours upon us a torrent of images, great and terrible; in subjects common to them both, Waller is more fruitful, Milton more natural. I have a fondness

[2]"The Connoisseur: An Essay on the Whole Art of Criticism" (first published 1719); *The Works of Jonathan Richardson*, 1792, 116.

[3]*Explanatory Remarks and Notes on "Paradise Lost,"* 1734, clii, cxlvii.

[4]*Remarks upon M. Voltaire's Essay upon Epic Poetry*, 1728, 69.

[5]Oras, *Milton's Editors*, 196.

[6]Welsted also quotes some passages from Spenser and Shakespeare, Smith from Shakespeare.

[7]Welsted, *The Works of D. Longinus*, 1712, 151; Smith, *Dionysius Longinus on the Sublime*, 1770, 38.

for one, but I pay adoration to the other."[8] It is by Milton's "unbounded soarings of imagination" that he is excited, especially in such passages as the account of Satan. Homer's description of the goddess Discord is "undoubtedly very great; but to anyone who has read the prodigious description Milton gives us of Satan, as when he rises from the fiery surge, when he views the host of fallen angels, and particularly when he is apprehended in Paradise, this perhaps will seem but moderately sublime."[9] Such indeed is Welsted's delight in immoderate sublimity that he "could almost be content that Virgil himself were less correct, provided he were more sublime."[10] Milton is more satisfying: "When I view him thus in his most exalted flights, piercing beyond the boundaries of the universe, he appears to me as a vast comet that for want of room is ready to burst its orb and grow eccentric."[11]

Smith is rather more conservative. He was not uncomfortable with the rules, and was delighted by the Paradise scenes as Welsted apparently was not.[12] Yet he also enjoyed the terrible sublimity of the War in Heaven, the description of Satan preparing for combat, and, curiously, the account of the Lazar House. Certainly "the horrible grandeur in which Milton arrays his devils throughout the poem is an honourable proof of the stretch of his invention," and their answer to Satan's harangue, "great and dreadful" as it is, "at once displays the art of the poet, gives the reader a terrible idea of the fallen angels, and imprints a dread and horror on the

[8]*Op. cit.*, 186. [9]*Ibid.*, 148. [10]*Ibid.*, 186. [11]*Ibid.*, 156.

[12]I cannot forbear to quote Smith's delightful remarks on our first parents: "Adam and Eve are the finest picture of conjugal love that ever was drawn. In them it is true warmth of affection, without violence or fury of passion; a sweet and reasonable tenderness, without any cloying or insipid fondness. In its serenity and sunshine, it is noble, amiable, endearing, and innocent. When it jars and goes out of tune, as on some occasions it will, there is anger and resentment. He is gloomy; she complains and weeps; yet love has still its force. Eve knows how to submit, and Adam to forgive. We are pleased that they have quarreled when we see the agreeable manner in which they are reconciled. They have enjoyed prosperity, and will share adversity together" (52-3). Nothing could be more fatuous; and nothing could better illustrate the insensibility of the eighteenth century to Milton's conception of the Fall than this reference to it by a Dean of Chester as one of those unfortunate misunderstandings that sometimes occur in the best regulated of families. It is this failure to comprehend the significance of Milton's epic which accounts for the emergence in the eighteenth century, and the continuance in the nineteenth and twentieth, of the Satanic interpretation.

mind."[13] However, though Smith agrees with Welsted that Book I is a magnificent example of sublimity, he makes a careful and sober distinction: "The descriptions of Satan and the other fallen angels are very grand, but terrible; they do not so much exalt as terrify the imagination."

The distinction is typical of the eighteenth century; but the emphasis of Welsted and Smith on Hell indicates how the balance was being shifted to favour the dreadful, and how the conception of Milton's sublimity was being transformed from a theory of religious elevation to a delightful sensationalism. The transition from the uplifting and moral to the exciting and stimulating is complete in Burke's examination of the sublime and the beautiful (1757). Burke was aware of the importance of religious emotion in the sublime; but he found that quality, not in those parts of *Paradise Lost* which (in Dennis's phrase) fill the soul "with joy and a certain noble pride,"[15] but in those which convey a sense of the terrible and mysterious power of God or Satan. "Astonishment is the effect of the sublime in the highest degree," he said; not an awed and worshipping reverence, but a wonder combined with "delightful horror."[16]

The description of Satan seemed to Burke "unsurpassed in its sublimity" because of its confused horror. "Here is a very noble picture; and in what does this poetical picture consist? In images of a tower, an archangel, the sun rising through mist, or in an eclipse, the ruin of monarchs and the revolution of kingdoms. The mind is hurried out of itself by a crowd of great and confused images, which affect because they are great and confused."[17] This is to say what Dennis would never say; and so it is also in Burke's examination of the shadowy description of Hell and the "majesty of darkness" which surrounds the most incomprehensible of all beings. Sublimity is the effect of irregularity and obscurity.

> No person seems better to have understood the secret of heightening or of setting terrible things, if I may use the expression, in their strongest light by the force of a judicious obscurity than Milton. His description of Death in the second book is admirably studied; it is astonishing with what a gloomy pomp, with what a significant and expressive uncertainty of strokes and colouring, he has

[13] *Dionysius Longinus on the Sublime*, 44, 78. [14] *Ibid.*, 26.

[15] Quoted Paul, *op. cit.*, 134

[16] *A Philosophical Enquiry into the Origin of Our Ideas of the Sublime and Beautiful*, 1757, part I, section vii.

[17] *Ibid.*, II, iv.

finished the portrait of the King of Terrors. . . . In this description all is dark, uncertain, confused, terrible, and sublime in the last degree.[18]

The collocation of words in the final sentence is illuminating; Addison and Voltaire thought Sin and Death absurd.

There is no need to trace this view of Milton farther in the second half of the eighteenth century. At this point it becomes inextricably involved with the revival of interest in mediaeval romance, Spenser and the Italians, romantic scenery, and those other dreadful props of the Gothic novel or tale of terror.[19] One later critic will serve to suggest the consequences of the movement we have been tracing.

Blair's *Lectures on Rhetoric* (1783) are in general academic and conservative; but his view of the sublime, based on Genesis, Milton, and Ossian, is very like Burke's. He distinguishes its effect from the "gay and brisk emotion raised by beautiful objects," insists on its "awfulness and solemnity," and differentiates it from the kind of writing which Longinus and Smith included under the heading but which he terms "merely elegant."[20] It is not produced by regular beauty but by ideas of vastness, of great noise as of earthquakes and torrents, of darkness, solitude and silence, of disorder, confusion and wildness. Much of this is supplied by Ossian; but much also comes from Milton.

It is "the daring sublimity of his genius" which is most striking in the "new and very extraordinary road" which he followed with a "stretch both of imagination and invention which is perfectly wonderful."[21] Instances of this quality are to be found throughout the poem, but especially in the Satanic books. "Almost the whole of the first and second books . . . are continued instances of the highest sublime. The prospect of hell and of the fallen host, the appearance and behaviour of Satan, the consultation of the infernal chiefs, and Satan's flight through chaos to the borders of the world, discover the most lofty ideas that ever entered into the conception of any poet."[22] Blair emphasizes Satan even more heavily than had Welsted. In a passage apparently inspired by Burke, he notes that in the characterization there "concur a variety of sources of the sublime; the principal object eminently great, a high superior nature, fallen indeed but erecting itself against distress; the grandeur of the principal object heightened by associating with it

[18] *Ibid.*, II, iii. [19] See Railo, *op. cit.* [20] *Lectures on Rhetoric*, 1783, I, 58-9.
[21] *Ibid.*, II, 471. [22] *Ibid.*, II, 474.

so noble an idea as that of the sun suffering an eclipse; this picture shaded with all those images of change and trouble, of darkness and terror, which coincide so finely with the sublime emotion. . . ."[23]

All the elements of the romanticism of terror are here; but it will be observed that Blair's remarks contain a suggestion not found in the critics hitherto considered. Even Dennis and Welsted, impressed as they were by the Satanic books, did not suggest that their sublimity owed something to the character of the superior and courageous figure for which they provide the background. Blair said with Johnson, "Adam is undoubtedly his hero";[24] but he considered that Satan "in particular makes a striking figure, and is indeed the best drawn character in the poem."[25] What is more important, he regarded him with a wondering terror not unmixed with sympathetic admiration—an attitude whose emergence in the eighteenth century can also be traced.

IV

The critics and annotators who preceded Blair were certainly not without an interest in Satan; but they did not interpret his character sympathetically. Like Addison, who preferred him to Ulysses because he "makes a much longer voyage . . . , puts in practice many more wiles and stratagems, and hides himself under a greater variety of shapes and appearances, all of which are severally detected to the great delight and surprise of the reader," they remember that Satan is the enemy of God and man.[1] It is true that "there is no single passage in the whole poem worked up to a greater sublimity" than the description of him; but, as Addison noted (and Johnson after him), Milton has taken pains to make his speeches "big with absurdity" so that the religious reader will not be misled by his blasphemy.[2] Yet there is discernible in the early eighteenth century a tendency to humanize Satan, partly as a result of the neo-classical demand for probability and partly because of the contrast between Milton's figure and the mediaeval devil, which prepares the way for the nineteenth-century interpretation.

Dryden's insistence that the Devil was the hero of *Paradise Lost* has no real connection with this development.[3] It arose from

[23] *Ibid.*, I, 69. [24] *Ibid.*, II, 422. [25] *Ibid.*, II, 472.

[1] *Spectator*, no. 273. [2] *Ibid.*, no. 303. [3] *Essays*, ed. Ker, II, 165.

a somewhat perverse distinction between epic and tragedy, and does not imply admiration. Indeed, Dryden's remarks tend in the opposite direction when he suggests that a Christian epic labours under a disadvantage in its machines because of the difficulty of making them human enough to be probable. This opinion was shared by Dennis,[4] who nevertheless thought that Milton had overcome the difficulty without making his devils, like the gods of Homer, so human as to be without the grandeur proper to spiritual beings: "The passions and inclinations of the Grecian gods are downright human inclinations and affections. The passions of Milton's devils have enough of humanity in them to make them delightful, but then they have a great deal more to make them admirable, and may be said to be the true passions of devils."[5]

It is strange that it is precisely this element of humanity in Milton's characterization which is increasingly emphasized by those critics who were also insisting on the horrible sublimity of the Satanic books.

Already in the edition of *Paradise Lost* in 1698, Hume (who had no admiration for the "blasphemous boastings" and the "cursed character" of the "Father of Lies whom the Lord of Hosts had in derision") noted the difference between Satan and the traditional devil in commenting on an illustration:

> From verse 591 to 594 and from thence to this, the designer of Lucifer's picture prefixed to this first book should have taken the noble lineaments of his obscured and yet glorious, haughty looks. He should have expressed his furrowed face and faded cheek under those lofty brows of steadfast courage and of wary pride, vowing and waiting for revenge. If he had hit these lucky strikes, he might have spared his horns and asses' ears, so unsuitable to the description of the archangel that Milton has afforded him no hint of them.[6]

A similar contrast between Milton and Tasso was developed by Smith in the translation of Longinus:

> Tasso . . . has opened a council of devils, but his description of them is frivolous and puerile, savouring too much of old women's tales and the fantastic dreams of ignorance. He makes some of them walk upon the feet of beasts and dresses out their resemblance of a human head with twisting serpents instead of hair; horns sprout upon their foreheads. . . . His devil talks somewhat like Milton's, but looks not with half that terrible pomp, that height of obscured glory.[7]

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[4] *Proposals*, 17. [5] *Grounds of Criticism*; Durham, *op. cit.*, 205.
[6] *Paradise Lost*, 1698, note on I, 603. [7] *Op. cit.*, 44-5.

And much the same opinion was expressed by the painter Richardson when he described how he would depict Satan:

> Devils are usually painted with horns, saucer eyes, ugly faces, tails, cloven feet, &c. Milton's devils are no such. He must be read without such images. His are seen to be angels still, though scarred and disfigured. 'T is hard, impossible, to conceive a character of beauty proper to a blessed spirit. . . . More difficult yet is it to imagine a proper idea of a ruined archangel; nor Guido, nor Rafael has succeeded here. . . . Michael Angelo was more fit for it, and he has done vastly beyond any other and without falling deep into the common follies . . . ; but still they are not what Milton has directed us to imagine. Tasso . . . has been avoided by him here; for Tasso has gone into the horns, tails, &c. No man has ever thought in this (as in other respects) like Milton. O that he had painted! and as he conceived! What are we to do in this case? Let us imagine virgin beauty, with masculine strength and vigour, all in the utmost conceivable degree, the strength and vigour little impaired, but the beauty withered, ruined, by age, disease, and scars, and by guile, envy, malice, rage, lust, grief, despair, &c. Then add vastness of proportion, and you have nearly one of Milton's devils, when dressed and armed in a suitable manner, not as an ancient Greek or Roman, but in a habit odd and disagreeable, tattered, foul, &c. . . .[8]

Hume, Smith, and Richardson do not sympathize with Satan; nor are they concerned to develop any radical philosophical or psychological implications from the figure as they see it. Richardson's devil in rags and tatters is anything but a glorious hero; but he is—as in the remarks of Hume and Smith—recognizably the diabolically heroic figure of Milton's text. All three critics are intent on seeing what Milton has described; and because of the misrepresentation of illustrators, all three emphasize the human qualities through which Milton makes his Satan probable. As Newton said, he has followed Aristotle's principle and "drawn Satan with some remains of beauty" and with "some of the other perfections of an archangel" because "a devil all made up of wickedness would be shocking to any reader or writer."[9]

[8] *Op. cit.*, note on I, 600.

[9] *Paradise Lost*, 1778, note on II, 483.

The representations of Satan in the illustrated editions of the epic deserve comment. In spite of the remarks quoted above, the horns and asses' ears of the 1695 edition printed by Tho. Hodgkin for Jacob Tonson reappear in Tonson's edition of 1707 and even in John Marchant's of 1751. In the 1764 edition by L. Hawes and others, Satan is without these marks, but the figure is otherwise unchanged and the face is very ugly, a fault perhaps of the engraver since Adam and Eve are themselves not very attractive. By the 1794 edition of J. and H. Richter, Satan has become Herculean, though with black, serpentine hair. In the editions of 1802 by F. J. Du Roveray, and 1808 by J. Johnson and others, the figure is like Blake's, a Grecian god with fair, curled locks; and in Septimus

Yet the emphasis on Satan's probability slipped very easily into a suggestion of his humanity, especially when it was associated with the dreadful and heroic sublimity of the opening books. When in Newton's edition Thyer noted that Milton, "describing the fierce and unrelenting spirit of Satan, seems very plainly to have copied after the picture that Aeschylus gives of Prometheus,"[10] he did not mean to anticipate Shelley's perversely paradoxical reading of the poem, but he gave a hint of things to come.

The emergence of the new view of Satan may be illustrated from the opinions expressed by James Beattie in writing of the sublimity of terror. Beattie clung to the notion that religion and goodness are the true sources of the sublime; but he left the path of Addison and Johnson to argue that "a character may be sublime which is not completely good, nay, which is upon the whole bad; for the test of sublimity is not moral approbation but that pleasurable astonishment wherewith certain things strike the beholder."

> Nay, even Satan, as Milton has represented him in *Paradise Lost*, though there are no qualities that can be called good in a moral view; nay, though every purpose of that wicked spirit is bent to evil and to that only; yet there is a grandeur of a ruined archangel; there is force able to contend with the most boisterous elements; and there is boldness which no power but what is Almighty can intimidate. These qualities are astonishing; and though we always detest his malignity, we are often compelled to admire that very greatness by which we are confounded and terrified.[11]

Beattie hastens to add that there is no blasphemy in this "pleasurable astonishment" since we regard the figure "not as the great enemy of our souls but as a fictitious being and a mere poetical hero," having no reason to think that the Devil "has really that boldness, irresistible strength, and dignity of form which the poet ascribed to him."[12] But the excuse is a lame one and suggests whistling in the dark; for Beattie, who thinks that "in the style of dreadful magnificence, nothing is superior and scarce anything equal to Milton's representation of hell and chaos," is on the point of echoing Satan's horrible cry.[13]

Prowett's edition of 1827, John Martin presents a marvellously romantic Paradise and a Satan who is a youth of great strength and pure white wings, helmeted as an oriental warrior, and distinguishable from the angels only by his fearful frown and his gloom of countenance.

[10]Note on I, 94.

[11]"Illustrations on Sublimity" in *Dissertations Moral and Critical*, 1783, 612.

[12]*Ibid.*, 613.

[13]*Ibid.*, 622.

Blair does echo it; for he adds to the emergent view of Satan the element of sympathetic as well as terrified admiration. Addison had emphasized "his pride, envy, and revenge, obstinacy, despair, and impenitence"; Blair emphasizes his humanity:

> Milton has not described him such as we suppose an infernal spirit to be. He has, more suitably to his own purposes, given him a human, that is, a mixed character, not altogether void of some good qualities. He is brave and faithful to his troops. In the midst of his impiety, he is not without remorse. He is even touched with pity for our first parents, and justifies himself in his design against them from the necessity of his situation. He is actuated by ambition and resentment, rather than by pure malice. In short, Milton's Satan is no worse than many a conspirator or factious chief that makes a figure in history.[14]

This is not very far from the contrast noted by Hume, Smith, and Richardson, or from Newton's Aristotelean comment; but in Blair's apologetic selection of the extenuating features of Satan's character there is a difference of tone which arises from the element of sentiment in his attitude towards the rebellious angel—a fact made more significant by his academic moderation. With the transference of this ingredient from Paradise to Hell, the way is prepared for Shelley and the other dynamic Satanists of the nineteenth and twentieth centuries. Blair is not a Satanist; he thinks Adam the hero because he still believes with Addison in the validity of Milton's Christian principles. But Satan fascinates him, and seems worthy of pity and admiration; and when the principles which Milton erects against Satan (not only in theological disquisitions but in the description of Paradise and the dramatic account of the Fall) have ceased to be felt as facts, there will be nothing to hinder the triumph of the devil's party. Already Satan may begin to assume a further variety of shapes and appearances, stalking through literature (as Railo and Praz have shown) sometimes as Shedoni, sometimes as Manfred, sometimes as Prometheus, to the terrified delight of readers and with little fear of detection.

[14] *Op. cit.*, II, 472-3. This is of course the counterpart of the development in Shakespearean criticism apparent in Morgann's *Dramatic Character of Falstaff*, Mackenzie's comments on *Hamlet*, and to some extent in Johnson's notes.

THE WAR AND OPINION

I. THE PROBLEM OF GERMANY

R. FLENLEY

GERMAN history is a long and complicated story. I suppose the simplest of all versions would see it as a process of expansion or attempted expansion. Our earliest view of the Germans is as they pushed south and west against the Roman Empire. And today we see them again trying to expand, claiming to be overcrowded and lacking room to live. But whereas in the days of the early migrations there was relatively ample room for expansion, today Europe is full, and the whole globe is either occupied or ticketed and organized under the rule of other peoples. There is, in fact, room for the Germans to *live* (*Lebensraum*), but not room to satisfy their desire to *rule*.

Yet despite the expansion motive seen at the beginning and the end of German history, that history takes place *in* Germany, the land into which the bulk of the early German migrants moved before and after the birth of Christ. Their wanderings beyond that land were of great moment for Europe, but do not make up German history in the sense in which that concerns us here. This land of Germany was and is a *middle* land, between north and south, east and west, of the European sub-continent. It lacked natural boundaries to east and west, and was for many centuries "a crossing land," until, after the Thirty Years' War, Prussian rulers built up a state strong enough to act as a barrier. This "middle land" is not, however, a unit. It is divided by the Elbe into eastern and western parts, with north-east and south-west possessing very different histories, the one dominated by the Rhineland, the other by Prussia. The continental climate is more alike from north to south than we should expect; for the greater elevation of south Germany largely negatives, for winter temperatures, the effects of the more southerly latitude. Hence the pull to the warmer, sunnier, Mediterranean lands, which offer almost as great a contrast to the south of Germany as to the north.

This middle position has been fundamental in German history. German writers have seen it both as making their country the *Heart* of Europe, and as inviting both encirclement and aggression by their neighbours to east and west. "We have learned and found our economy in an economic prison amid a world of foes," wrote

Naumann. "That remains the background to everything which may happen." It placed them midway between the civilized Roman world, the bearers of Graeco-Roman culture, and the more backward Slavic peoples, with their Asiatic connections. Looking at Germany from the west as we do, we are perhaps too apt to forget the eastern connection. No doubt this is partly due to the fact that this connection has been largely reflected to us as a struggle of Teuton *versus* Slav, a crusade of the Teutonic Order and an eastward German colonizing movement. But just as in Spain the idea of a continuous Christian crusade against the Moors is a greatly over-simplified picture of a complex process of give-and-take, so German-Slav relations were likewise more complicated, and the Slav (or at any rate the Russian) influence on Germany greater than we allow for. And that influence increased as Germany east of the Elbe increased in size and importance, and after Prussian expansion had destroyed the Polish state separating Germany from Russia.

On the other hand it would be ridiculous to under-estimate the western, Graeco-Latin-Christian influence on Germany. Her middle position exposed her to the pulls from both east and west (or south). It is true that most peoples and countries have been subject to rival and sometimes counter- influences. We ourselves have experienced the pull and counter-pull of British and American influences. But in our case these two pulls have been at bottom from the same civilization. In the case of Germany the pulls were more divergent, the resultant stress greater. Without basing the whole interpretation of Germany history on this geographical setting, it does, I think, prefigure one of the outstanding traits of that history, viz., its dualism, nay, more, its contradictory character. Without doubt Goethe and Goethe's *Faust* illustrate the argument. But I prefer to follow the humbler and to me safer path of German history to illustrate what I mean. Yet before doing so we may note that two of the greatest foreign writers on Germany, Tacitus and Mme de Staël, both remark on this same quality in the people of whom they write. We find Tacitus in his *Germania* remarking on the contrast between the German's love of freedom and his readiness to gamble that freedom away; between his superhuman energy in battle and his sloth and gluttony in peace. And Mme de Staël found a similar contradiction in the Germans of *her* day, between their remarkable independence of

thought and their preference for being given orders, a contradiction which long outlasted her time. Sentimentality and brutality, servility and freedom, intellectual advancement and social and political backwardness, a "hopeless passion for the absolute" and a ruthless pursuit of *Realpolitik*, could and did coexist in Germany in more marked contrast than elsewhere.

II

The contradiction is manifest in the medieval German Empire. It is one of the major questions in European history why the eastern half of the divided empire of Charles the Great, the future Germany, did not achieve the national unity which the western half, the future France, slowly and painfully, but steadily, attained. The early Saxon kings of Germany appeared, and were, far stronger than those of Capetian France, and they ruled over peoples of one common stock. They were strong enough to seize the sceptre Charlemagne had left, and be crowned emperors in Rome. To this connection forged by Otto, the lure of Italy, and the consequent neglect of German affairs, has often been attributed the failure to establish a national state north of the Alps. Recent German opinion, however, seems to be that it was not the Roman connection but the inherent strength of the local princes in Germany itself which prevented such a development: that German particularism was already so deep-rooted as to defy attempt to reduce it. Hence neither Saxon nor Franconian nor Hohenstauffen emperors were able to establish effective control, and with the downfall of the last the task became hopeless. The belated attempts of Sigismund and Maximilian but revealed their impotence. Yet the title *Imperator Augustus* survived; and there were vague and illusory claims to lordship over the western world where new nations were now growing up. The contradiction did not end there: the legend of Frederick Barbarossa sitting with his knights in the caves of Kyffhäusen waiting for the call to redeem his country was to be more than an Idyll of a King. The German Romantics at the end of the eighteenth century found in this first Reich a meed of national glory and a pattern of universal dominion which played a part in building up not merely the Second, but also the so-called Third Reich. *Heute gehört uns Deutschland, Morgen die ganze Welt*, sing the Hitler Jugend.

The next great epoch in German history, that of the Reforma-

tion, displayed parallel dissonances and discords. By Luther's revolt Germany was split from end to end, and more permanently and decisively than any other great state of the West. The resultant strife culminated in the Thirty Years' War, and while opinions as to the results of that conflict in Germany differ, it certainly brought loss, wastage, destruction and a check to general development. The formerly flourishing German cities, centres of municipal freedom, fell into relative decline, and with them the middle class which elsewhere was rising steadily in importance and power.

But the revolt had other results also. Luther led a movement to free his countrymen from the yoke of Rome. "Nor are we only kings and the freest of all men, but also priests forever, a dignity far higher than kingship," he declared in the tract *On the Liberty of a Christian Man*. But when the peasants tried to apply this doctrine to their servitude, he declared that "an ass must be beaten and the rabble governed by force. Let any one who is able hew down, stab and slay them as one would a mad dog." And the price for the protection Luther received from German princes was the increase of their power. Instead of more freedom, religious or otherwise, came the *Obrigkeitstaat*, the authoritarian state, of the next two centuries, with the church subject thereto, and Lutheranism an agent of despotism. The Holy Roman Empire became a "*Monstrum*," in Pufendorff's phrase, and Germany "an unpolitically peaceful people of small states, of loyal and servile subjects." There was perhaps more truth than she realized in Mme de Staël's judgment that "of all Germany's great men, Luther was the most German." The attitude of the greatest German of the seventeenth century, Leibnitz, is revealing: "I wish," he wrote, and this in the age of Cromwell and Milton, "to put aside affairs of state and war; for I believe that God will find a path to our welfare, and will graciously preserve this Empire as the head of Christendom. But as to what concerns the *mind*, and *language*, I believe that in *this* matter every faculty must express itself."[1]

The outstanding beneficiaries of the Lutheran Reformation in Germany were the rulers of the north-eastern border principality of Brandenburg-Prussia. At first sight the steady rise to power of this state, from the Great Elector to Frederick the Great, and onwards to 1870, may seem too strictly logical, the state itself too

[1]Quoted in J. P. Mayer, *Political Thought: The European Tradition* (London, 1939), 295.

much a work of conscious art, to leave any room for marked contradictory elements. On reflection, however, such features do in fact present themselves. The very name Prussia was taken from a non-Germanic people far to the north-east of Germany, yet comes to represent the mastery over all Germany. And while Prussia was Christianized and partly Germanized by the Teutonic Order, the influence of the east-Elbian Junker nobility continued to influence the Prussian state, helping to differentiate that state markedly from the Germany developed and developing along the Rhine and the Danube. Adequately to work this out would require far more time and space than I can spare. The common dislike of Prussia elsewhere in Germany was an index of it.

The character and personalities of some of the Hohenzollern rulers afford obvious illustration of this disharmony, not least in the greatest of them all, Frederick II. We see it in his relations with his incredible father (also an example of it), with his wife, the hapless Elizabeth Christine, in his attachment to French and contempt of German culture. We find it almost too obviously in his elaborate refutation of Machiavelli, the *Anti-Machiavel*, in which he takes excessive pains to attack ambition, greed, disloyalty and faithlessness in princes: "What reason, I would ask, can a man have for aggrandizing himself? What right to form the design of raising his power upon the ruin and destruction of others? The new conquests of a sovereign do not enrich or improve his old dominions. His subjects are no better for them, and he deceives himself if he thinks that they add to his happiness. . . . I conclude that true glory is not to be bought by usurpation." But within a twelvemonth Frederick engaged in the unprovoked and unjustified seizure of Silesia and attack upon Austria. And again, coming strangely from this most autocratic of rulers, who trusted neither minister nor any parliament: "For my part, if there was any constitution which should be proposed as a model, it should surely be that of England, where the Parliament is the arbiter between King and people, and the King has every power to do good, and none to do ill." True, it was the young Frederick who wrote thus, and the later Frederick did much to resolve these contradictions (so far as despotism could) in the enlightenment he displayed when his wars were over. Yet a modern biographer finds in a dualism of character the key to his personality.

It would be easy to carry on this tale through the lives of a

number of the later Hohenzollerns, though that of Frederick William II, in whose reign (as Mirabeau put it) "never was the mania of reigning in person and of doing nothing carried to greater excess"; or Frederick William IV, whose mind (as one of his ministers cautiously put it) "is differently organized from those of other men," down to the last Hohenzollern king, with the dangerous combination of qualities which helped to destroy the monarchy.

It is characteristic of the contradictions of which I speak, that within little more than a decade after the death of the hard realist, Frederick the Great, we should find that well-informed if romanticist observer, Mme de Staël, asserting with complete seriousness that "of all nations, the German has the greatest inclination to mysticism." Admittedly, she is not thinking of Prussia; but more important, she wrote in the heyday of an intellectual and literary revival which was second only (if it was indeed second) in importance for Germany to the rise of Prussia itself. This remarkable revival, under way when Frederick died in 1786 and stretching to perhaps the death of Goethe (in 1832), affected almost every side of intellectual activity; it was as if forces driven underground at or after the Reformation, and so far finding expression almost alone in music, now burst forth to find full, free and tumultuous expression in literature and song, in philosophy, in history, in criticism, in religion, to make an enduring contribution not merely to German but to European thought. I said *almost* every side of German life; for while there is no doubt of the stimulus of this new literature and thought in the national revival against Napoleon, as in the nationalist movement later, it is none the less true that in its earliest, most creative phases it was singularly little concerned with political issues or political life. There is freedom in it, but it is freedom of the imagination, or of the purified reason of Kant. The Greece of its exponents is the Attica of Phidias rather than of Thucydides. And when they turn to political theories, after 1800, they are theorists still, admirers of Burke indeed, but Burke the founder of conservative theory, not Burke the publicist or active parliamentarian, much less the champion of American liberty. German thought and German political life fail to develop together. Much of the explanation of this lies, of course, in the existing social and political system of eighteenth-century Germany. These thinkers and men of letters, who sprang from many parts of Germany,

were mainly poor, often the sons of parsons or schoolmasters, and dependent for a livelihood on the favour of princes, as even the eminent Kant found. Yet they were to constitute a force in German history inestimable in importance, and that very limitation, as it seems to us, of their horizon, was to give their thought an *absolute* quality which was later to have political implications. It was Novalis, one of the purest Romantics, infinitely remote from politics, who in a well-known essay gazed back across the gulf of the Reformation with regret for the lost faith and the lost unity of Europe under its medieval emperors. Yet in that same essay Novalis wrote: "With a slow but steady gait, Germany is passing the rest of the European countries. This advance must in the course of time give it the preponderance over them." How the new philosophy enunciated by Kant and his successors might affect the future is described in a truly remarkable prophecy uttered a generation later by Heine, the Romantic born out of due time, at the close of his survey of Religion and Philosophy in Germany:[2]

> German philosophy is of great importance and concerns the whole of humanity. Our remote descendants will alone be able to decide whether we are to be blamed or praised for having first worked out our philosophy, and then our revolution. A methodical people like ours must have begun with the Reformation, to concern itself after that with philosophy, and go on thereafter to political revolution. . . . The German revolution will be no milder or gentler because it was preceded by the criticism of Kant, the transcendental idealism of Fichte, or the philosophy of nature [of Schelling]. These doctrines have built up revolutionary forces which only await the moment to explode and fill the world with terror and awe. Then will appear Kantians who will reject piety in the world of facts as in that of ideas, who will pitilessly tear up with axe and sword the soil of our European life to get rid of the last roots of the past. There will come on the scene armed Fichteans, with a fanaticism incapable of being tamed by either fear or self-interest. . . . And most terrifying of all will be the philosophers of nature should they take part in a German revolution, and identify themselves with the work of destruction . . . evoking the forces of old German pantheism, and reawakening the lust of battle found amongst the old Germans, who fought . . . simply for the sake of fighting.

Herder and Fichte, unlike each other yet alike in their restless unease, illustrate well enough the discordant elements in the thought of this period. Herder, the discoverer of the German *Volk*, of *Deutschtum*, has of late come to be regarded as a prime

[2]Heine, *Sämtliche Werke*, VII, 350 ff.; R. D'O. Butler, *The Roots of National Socialism* (London, 1941), 284.

mover in the rise of German nationalism, and even a source of Nazi theory. So, in part, he was. Yet Herder also stood for eighteenth-century cosmopolitanism and the belief in Humanity above the Nation. He saw the German people as a mixture of races, whose culture, save for their language, was derived from Graeco-Roman and Arab sources; he encouraged Slav as well as German nationalism, deriding the idea of the Germans as the chosen people; and he disliked both Prussia and the Prussian state. Fichte presents a like problem, as a mixture of cosmopolitanism and nationalism, idealism and realism. Yet what seems specially significant about him here is the way in which, partly from his own fault, he was driven out of Jena, to take refuge in Prussia. For thereby he illustrates the way in which some of the thinkers of this period were drawn into the orbit of Prussia, and harnessed to the Prussian state. And Fichte makes Berlin the desk from which he appeals to the German nation.

His successor in the University of Berlin, the even more influential Hegel, went further still. No Prussian born, he had once rejoiced over Prussia's downfall at Jena. But now he not merely accepted Prussia, but found divine elements in the Prussian state. True, by this time Prussia in the War of Liberation had made herself the leader of Germany against Napoleon. But despite the efforts of Stein and Hardenberg the essential features of Prussia remained little changed, as she entered the post-Napoleonic period. And thus a movement which had begun as subjective, individualist, remote from politics, and in fundamental opposition and contradiction to the Prussian state, with its characteristic features, seems to end up as the ally and supporter of that state and its system. This was a fateful conjunction.

Actually, all the energies of German Romanticism were not diverted to Protestant Prussian soil. Some of its exponents, such as Schlegel, Adam Müller and Gentz, found homes in Catholic Vienna, though accepting a like allegiance to the conservative forces dominant there after 1815. But others survived the era of reaction, to be rejuvenated in Young Germany and take part in the abortive attempt of German Liberals to create a united Liberal Germany in 1848. I am not here concerned to follow that story, or the familiar sequel in which Bismarck solved the problem they could not solve, by forces not at their disposal. Yet it would be easy to show that in and through the Bismarckian Empire the

same contradictions survived. Indeed they proved to be infinitely more serious, affecting not merely Germany but her neighbours.

While Germany was in the first flush of pride after the victory of 1870, Nietzsche had raised his voice in scornful protest against those who claimed that this victory marked the superiority of German culture. But even Nietzsche later came to pay tribute to the new Germany, in his vision of a new if barbarian blond aristocracy. More solidly and consistently a mirror of Germany (and Prussia) triumphant was Treitschke, the Swabian ex-liberal drawn to Berlin. In his famous lectures on *Die Politik*, Treitschke eulogized, with the moral fervour of the convert, the Prussian state and the Hohenzollerns, no ossified monarchs as the kings of England; he gloried in the unmatched Prussian army and the Prussian nobility, "the most illustrious in the world." The common people of Germany, he admitted, were imperfect, but they could find scope for what idealism they possessed in religion, and in delight in military heroism. Small states were an offence to the Lord, since they lacked the ability to be just. In the rivalry of great states lay "the beauty of history"; political idealism expressed itself in wars. And Treitschke, despite the deafness which cut him off from speech with his fellows, was no voice crying in the wilderness, but a leader in the academic world, his harsh voice finding an ever-widening circle of admiring listeners. Lamprecht echoed the same pride in "Germanity," in the superiority of German culture, the growing belief in the inevitability of German expansion. S. H. Chamberlain (following Gobineau) found a pseudo-scientific explanation of German greatness in the superiority of the German race. All this was familiar enough before and during the last war, and I need not linger over it.

Yet the contradictions continued. Most obvious was that between the unprecedented growth of wealth and power in the Empire Bismarck had created, and the revolutionary Socialism founded about the same time by Marx and Lasalle. Neither Bismarck's severe persecution, nor his efforts at state socialism, availed to check the growth of this fundamental opposition to his whole system; indeed he rather provoked the growth of Social Democracy. It is the considered opinion of one German historian that by the date of Bismarck's fall, there was already a majority of opinion in Germany against his imperial system. But although the Social Democrats might grow until by 1912 they had the largest

party in the Reichstag, neither they nor any other party could form a government representing their views, or displace a Chancellor appointed by the Emperor. Still less could the Socialists hope to change the social and industrial form of the Empire. To say that fear of Socialism in Germany caused her to go to war in 1914 is doubtless an exaggeration. But it is probably true that the aggressiveness of German foreign policy before 1914 owed something to the desire to provide distraction from the strains of the domestic situation.

III

November, 1918, seemed to promise a decisive change in Germany. The army had been defeated, the Hohenzollerns and their constitution were gone, the Bismarckian system was overthrown, and a new day dawned. The new régime was openly based (Art. 1 of the Constitution of Weimar) on the sovereignty of the people of Germany. But though it looked back to the liberal effort of seventy years earlier for its flag and some of its constitutional provisions, the new régime was, naturally enough, socialist rather than liberal, for the Majority Socialists set it up, and saw it through its most critical days.

Opinions still differ as to the reasons for the failure of the Weimar régime to establish itself. But neither reparations nor lack of sympathy from outside were really responsible for the downfall of the Weimar Republic, though of course the economic depression of 1929, which played no small part, was international. The main causes were within, fruit again, more fatal than ever, of that same discordance. Behind the difficulties of the republic was the fact that the rulers of Germany, counting on a short war, had made no provision for a long one, still less for a lost one: inflation began during the war itself. It was a calamity that the Social Democratic leaders, engaged in establishing a state free from the incubus of militarism, should immediately turn to the army for aid to destroy a possible threat from the extreme left. The Social Democrats, despite their Marxian programme, were in fact not revolutionary at all, and the war had revealed fissures in their party. The Majority Socialists had grown mightily in numbers and possessions under the imperial régime, had imbibed some of its spirit, and were by no means ready to embark on radical changes, for all their professions of Marxism. The Weimar Republic did indeed go further towards establishing the basis of state socialism

than is often admitted, but it did so less from policy and conviction than as necessity impelled. The theoretical perfection of the system of representation adopted encouraged the formation of many parties and groups, which necessitated coalitions and hindered political stability. For the parties, most of them successors under new names of the parties of earlier days, refused to sacrifice their party views and interests for the common good; Communists and National Socialists could even on occasion combine against the Republic in the Reichstag. The Social Democrats (and their allies) never managed, and did not sufficiently try, to destroy or even disarm the opponents of the Republic. Many of the old imperial officials were continued in office and openly maligned and attacked the new state. The east Elbian landlords of the rye belt managed not merely to hold on to 90 per cent of their large estates, the basis of their power, but secured government subsidies on a large scale. The army interest (partly coincidental) invented the legend that the German army had not in fact been beaten in the war, but had been stabbed in the back by proletarians and Jews, seeking to destroy the Fatherland. Thus, much of the Prussian tradition survived, as did the unity of Prussia itself, despite the increase of centralized authority. And while this interest survived, the solid German middle class, much of it once liberal, which might have been won over to be a solid support for the Republic, was destroyed by the inflation which reached its height in 1923. The few years of prosperity, or seeming prosperity, that followed (1924-9), though they rebuilt many of Germany's factories with foreign money, did little to protect her against the financial and economic crisis which set in after 1929. Thus, when the storm broke, the new régime was not strongly enough established to stand it.

In the last year of the Republic, Spengler had called upon Prussianism to save Germany from the World Revolution of Socialism, and in the same year Göbbels defined Nazism as "the true survival and continuation of Prussianism." That indeed was grossly unfair to Prussianism (as a loyal Prussian Conservative like Rauschning was sadly to find out) but Nazism did take over and use (and even add to) some of the elements of Prussianism, above all its military quality, its emphasis on the state, its ruthlessness. It also took over the machinery of centralization and state control of banking and industry, which the Republic, under the economic

stress and strain, had begun to apply, and extended it to every side of national life. But in addition to these two, Nazism, seeking theoretical (if not moral) justification, produced a flood, a veritable delirium, of theorizing about the new Reich now being established: the Mythos of the new age, the *Führerprinzip*, the mysteries of Race, Blood and Folk, the new Humanism and Vitalism, the new religion of Germanism, the new totalitarian state, the new geo-politics. None of this was, however, new. It went back not, indeed, as Rosenberg claimed, to poor Meister Eckart, the medieval mystic, dragged from his grave to garnish a new credo, but back to the Romantics, to Herder and Fichte—to Hegel, to Wagner, to the triumphs of Bismarck, to Chamberlain's racial theories. Thus when all is said, there was nothing new in Nazism. As Butler says: "When the theory of National-Socialism is viewed in relation to German political thought of the last century and a half, it is seen to be stale stuff, stale and adulterated."[3]

What *was* new was the tremendous *power* capable of being generated when such views and aims were harnessed to the absolute power wielded by a fanatical leader controlling a people of over seventy millions, drilled, disciplined and armed as Germany is today. Against this we are now fighting. But if this German aggression and militarism, running into ruthlessness, cruelty, intolerance and injustice, is nothing new, but merely the expression of old aims and qualities, are we driven back to Ranke's pronouncement?—"There will always be, permeating the history of every people, something which is eternal and primordial, which you cannot explain, and whose causes you cannot trace, something you can only recognize. Thus while events and periods in the history of the German people follow one another and change, yet whenever the spirit emerges into action it does so in a way that is special to it, and always the same. The colours change, the light they refract is unchanged."[4]

IV

If that is so, the outlook for the future is a gloomy one. And indeed however quickly we defeat Nazi Germany the outlook *is* a gloomy one. If Ranke were wholly right, it suggests that we must envisage the permanent controlling, chaining down of Ger-

[3]Butler, *Roots of National Socialism*, 276.
[4]Quoted in Mayer, *Political Thought*, 284.

many, lest she break out again. And certainly policing, at least, will be necessary for some time to come. But if, as I believe, Ranke is not wholly right, to what elements in Germany can we look for its (and our) deliverance; in what manner and on what terms can we make peace with this new Germany? You will not expect me to discuss questions of reparations by Germany: at least we know now the pitfalls which accompany the process of reparation payments. Nor can one prefigure the general arrangement of post-war Europe, or how Russia, the British Commonwealth, and the United States will be related thereto. We can assume that there will be some reorganization of east-central Europe on lines different from those of 1918-38, some consolidation of the smaller and weaker national units, economically, and it is to be hoped politically, into larger units to provide a better balance of forces there. And some sort of international association will be essential both for Europe and the world. But the nation must still be the norm in many essential respects; the Atlantic Charter recognizes it; we are fighting, Russia included, as allied *nations*, and I see no near likelihood of escape from that fact.

That being so, we must recognize German nationality also. We may consider that her boundaries should be modified, not indeed to take away from her more than in 1918, but possibly to remove sources of friction by moving peoples. Hitler has provided ample precedents for this. He has moved some 750,000 Lorrainers, nearly 200,000 Tyrolers, 135,000 Germans from Volhynia and Galicia (by agreement with Russia), 90,000 Germans from Bessarabia, 45,000 Germans from Bukovina, 120,000 Baltic Germans from the Baltic States, a million or so Germans from Transylvania, and over 100,000 Germans from the west to Poland, 2,440,000 in all:[5] this in addition to the forced movement of Poles, Jews, and other subject peoples, a total certainly of millions. With all this done, we may feel that, for example, the move of two and a quarter million Germans from East Prussia to West Prussia, of Sudeten Germans from Czechoslovakia, and even of Germans from Memel and Danzig, might be justified, despite the inevitable hardship involved. The Nazi motto "The general need before individual desire" could, not unreasonably, be invoked.

But within Germany, it would seem to me quite wrong, and unsound in our own interest, to attempt to break up the country.

[5] W. Williams, *The Riddle of the Reich* (London, 1941), 101.

Germany is united today, politically and administratively, far more than Bismarck ever managed to accomplish. She is no longer a federal but a unitary state. Whether the capital could or should be moved away from Prussia to the west (Frankfurt or Nüremberg?) I am doubtful. Prussia could be reorganized and (as Frederick William IV once declared it would be) completely merged in the Reich, but South and North Germany belong together, and to separate them would be to invite future conflict, though an eminent German professor now in exile is of another opinion. Austria is not quite in the same position. If she desires to join hands with her Danubian neighbours, she might do so, if they will agree together.

But all that will not solve the German problem. The Nazis have complicated the issue in several ways: they have set up a ruling caste, the Party, they have destroyed all rivals, and they have educated young Germans in their creed. The first of these complications will presumably be eliminated by the ending of the war, the third will involve a most difficult and perhaps lengthy problem of re-education, though defeat and loss will do some of that. The second is the most acute (on which the third to some extent depends). When Napoleon was defeated there were the Bourbons to whom to turn, and the Orleanists when Charles X became impossible. Only a few, I suppose, would suggest restoring the Hohenzollerns, and I doubt whether the Wittelsbachs or any other line could survive in post-war Germany. Dictators are ruled out, military or civil. But the Nazis have done more than destroy their enemies (or unify Germany). They have introduced a most elaborate and far-reaching system of state control for every side of national life. The old social order, already changing, has been further levelled; even the Junkers are said to have gone as a potent force. Whether the war has really preserved the military class I do not know: at first it seemed that it would and must; but now that seems more doubtful. In any case the Germany with which we make peace will not be the Germany of 1918, much less that of pre-1914. Thus, while on the one hand the democratic elements which it was hoped would succeed in establishing themselves after 1918, have been trampled upon, on the other hand the state has been wiped cleaner of rival elements. Some, at least, of the former obstacles to the establishment of a democratic régime based on the people have, it would seem, been destroyed. And not merely

Germany, but the world about her (and us) will be different too. The heyday of western imperialism, and more than the heyday, is over, never to return to the old forms. Whether this will remove a rock of offence between (say) Germany and Britain, it is too soon to predict. But it may work in that direction.

We come back then, not merely to 1918, but to the central German problem. I have been concerned to illustrate certain discords in her history, which seem to me to have prevented her development as a democratic state. Are these likely to disappear in the future? Above all, can we look in the future to the disappearance or resolving of what E. Preuss, son of the maker of the constitution of 1918, terms in a recent book "the canker of Germany," which he describes as "the political indolence, aphasia, and backwardness of the Germans over many centuries,"[6] in contrast with their intellectual and economic development? "For democratic government to flourish in any community," writes Professor Thomson in *The Democratic Ideal in France and England*,[7] "at least *two* conditions are necessary. There must be a popular *vision* of the most desirable sort of society—a society which shall give the greatest degree of freedom and happiness to the ordinary citizen. And there must be within the community a certain *balance* between the forces of cohesion and those of individualism."

Now I would say that Germany *had* had this vision; the democratic constitutions of 1848 and 1918 seem to me obvious pieces of concrete evidence of this. But the vision was blurred, and confused, and finally vanquished by those other elements of which I have spoken. Whether the Nazi régime has been able to destroy it entirely is another matter. But what Germany has so far lacked has been just that *balance* Thomson predicates as essential; that, in varying interpretations, has been the subject of my paper. I do not know whether Germany can attain it, though I think it might turn out in the end that the Nazis, those despisers of democracy, may have contributed to render its revival possible by their ruthless destruction of other forces. But I am an historian, not a prophet. It was the greatest German poet who reminded his people that

> What you have inherited from your forefathers,
> You must win again, in order to possess it.

[6] *The Canker of Germany* (London, 1939).
[7] (London, 1940).

That might mean the power of the sword, of dominion over others. But it may also mean (to quote the prologue to the Weimar constitution of 1919) "freedom and justice, the serving of the ends of peace at home and abroad and the furthering of social justice." I hope it will.

II. BALKAN PROSPECTS

L. S. Stavrianos

Developments in the Balkans have occurred recently which ordinarily would have rated headlines but which have been virtually ignored because of the news from the war fronts. These are the Greek-Yugoslav agreement of January 15 providing for a post-war Balkan federation, and the announcement of King George II, early in February, which abolished the Greek dictatorship. Needless to say, the significance of these events depends upon the final outcome of the war. An Axis victory would reduce their significance to precisely nothing. Instead the "New Order" would be imposed on the Balkan Peninsula, and the nature of this "New Order" has been realistically described by Alfred Rosenberg: "The Balkans must be united with Greater Germany in a firm federation in various forms of semi- or apparent sovereignty, economically or militarily, affiliated to Germany."[1]

A beginning has already been made in putting this programme into effect. Greece and Yugoslavia have been occupied by Axis troops and partitioned amongst Germany, Italy, Bulgaria, and Hungary. The rump states which are left are ruled ostensibly by native "führers" but in reality by the local German commanders. Similarly Bulgaria and Roumania, although technically allied to Germany, have nevertheless been occupied and remain completely under Axis control. In the economic sphere, only light industries are permitted to continue operations, while the production of raw materials is regulated to conform to the needs of German economy. Thus far the reaction to this "New Order" has been profound discontent and widespread sabotage in Roumania and Bulgaria, and armed revolution in Yugoslavia and Greece.

If Germany and her allies were able to win a decisive victory and conclude peace, it would be a comparatively easy matter to restore order in the Balkans. How stable and permanent the settlement would be is another question. One of the chief reasons

[1]Cited by F. W. L. Kovacs, *The Untamed Balkans* (New York, 1941), 197.

why Hitler was able to gain control of the whole peninsula in such short order was the internal dissension prevailing within the various states, due to unhealthy social and economic conditions and to conflict amongst the various national groups. It is difficult to see how the "New Order" can cope successfully with these problems. The poverty and over-population of the rural areas cannot be alleviated by checking industrialization and by restricting Balkan economy to the production of agricultural, mineral, and other raw materials. As for the national question, it is infinitely worse under Axis rule than it was under the former governments. A state of open warfare exists in Transylvania, Thrace, Voivodina, Dalmatia, Slovenia, and other recently annexed areas. In fact, the whole peninsula has become virtually a vast new Macedonia. Thus if the Nazi government should ever be in the position to carry out its policy of uniting "the Balkans . . . with Greater Germany in a firm federation," it would be a union forced from without, not arising from within. It would be based solely on German military supremacy and would exist only so long as that were maintained. It could be pointed out, of course, that the Romans and the Turks were able to rule the entire peninsula for centuries, but it seems scarcely conceivable that this could be repeated in the present era and under the existing circumstances.

In the case of an Allied victory the exact nature of the post-war settlement in the Balkans cannot be foreseen because of the fact that it will be based to a far greater extent upon what the masses of the people want and do. What they will want and what they will do can be gauged somewhat by a review and an analysis of their wishes and actions at the end of the first World War. The nature of these is evidenced by the tremendous growth which the Balkan Labour and Agrarian parties experienced as soon as hostilities ceased. The disintegration of the Hapsburg Empire, the triumph of the Bolsheviks in Russia, the establishment of a Soviet régime in Hungary, and the destruction and suffering resulting from the war, all combined to produce a great revolutionary upsurge, particularly in Serbia and Bulgaria. In the latter country King Ferdinand was compelled to abdicate on October 3, 1918, and a year later Alexander Stambolisky, the Agrarian leader, who had been imprisoned for the duration of the war because of his opposition to Ferdinand's policies, became the head of the government. The temper of the Bulgarian people was revealed clearly in the

results of the elections of March, 1920. Stambolisky's Agrarians obtained 113 seats, the Communists 48, Democrats 34, Nationalists 15, Socialists 7, and other parties 23. The trend in Yugoslavia during these years was similar although not so pronounced. The Croatian Agrarian party, led by Stephen Radich, had the support of the overwhelming majority of the people of Croatia, while the Labour parties gained a majority in the municipal elections of 1919 in such cities as Belgrade, Nish and Zagreb. As for Roumania and Greece, suffice it to say that the Agrarian, Socialist and Communist parties in those countries similarly increased greatly in strength and influence but, for various reasons, never to the extent of the Bulgarian and Serbian parties.

It is well known that this radical trend led to a reaction and that these Labour and Agrarian parties were suppressed and outlawed one by one. Both Stambolisky and Radich were assassinated, and by 1936 dictatorships existed in each of the Balkan countries. Nevertheless the fact that this revolutionary movement did occur in the years following 1918 is of the utmost importance because a similar development must be expected as soon as this war draws to a close. If anything, it will prove to be even more profound and widespread. The very considerable dissatisfaction with the prevailing governments, the appalling extent of the devastation and suffering, the greater influence of the radical parties, and the presence of the Soviet Union as a world power, all lead to this conclusion. In the words of President Eduard Beneš: "This war will conclude with even more profound revolutionary disturbances. They will be most radical precisely in Central Europe. The broad masses of the people, who have had such a direct experience of hunger, suffering and incredible barbarism at the hands of the Nazis and the German generals, and who have already developed a conception of a new democratic Europe, will, even more than after the last war, be the decisive factor in the equation."[2]

Thus the prospect for the immediate post-war period is a revolutionary movement by weary, starving, war-buffeted peoples. As in 1918, they will demand bread and peace, or in other words, far-reaching internal social reforms, and some sort of an inter-Balkan organization as a bulwark against further conflicts. In the light of this background, the significance of King George's

[2]E. Beneš, "The Organization of Postwar Europe" (*Foreign Affairs*, XX, Jan., 1942, 232).

announcement and of the Greek-Yugoslav pact becomes evident. They are indicative of a growing realization on the part of the responsible leaders of the subjugated nations that the old policies have been found wanting and that new ones are in order.

In the case of Greece the Metaxas dictatorship was established in that country on August 4, 1936. In the words of the well-informed New York *Times* correspondent, Mr A. C. Sedgwick, "at least 80 per cent of the Greek people regarded the dictatorship as anathema."[3] Moreover, its perpetuation, even after the death of Metaxas, served to foster dissension and unrest amongst the Greek forces in the Near East. Consequently, the King's decision to put an end to this dictatorship is a most welcome step in the right direction. But it is no more than a step, and many more must be taken in every Balkan country. Hitler, like Napoleon, has obliterated the old régimes throughout Europe beyond recall. The long-suffering Balkan peoples are aware of this and they have ideas of their own as to the future. For example, General Mikhailovitch, whose régime is dependent upon and is extremely close to the peasants, has introduced in Yugoslavia "a practical socialism, manifested by a policy of wealth-sharing and by a general distaste for the bourgeoisie and for pre-war military leaders."[4] It is evident that, once Hitler is defeated and the work of reconstruction is begun, something much more than a mere restoration of the pre-war *status quo* will be required to meet the needs and expectations of these peasants.

In addition to the internal social and political question, the other principal post-war problem will be that of inter-Balkan relations. The history of the peninsula in modern times has been punctuated with tragic frequency by crises and wars. Consequently the recent Greek-Yugoslav agreement for a post-war Balkan federation is very promising. The agreement provides for the establishment of three "organs" to plan common military, economic and diplomatic policies for the Balkan states, as well as a permanent secretariat to direct and co-ordinate the work of the three "organs." "The Balkans for the Balkan peoples" is the expressed aim of the two signatories, and they add further that "they envisage with satisfaction the future adhesion to this agreement of other Balkan states ruled by governments freely and legally constituted." This scheme for a Balkan federation assumes added

[3] New York *Times*, Feb. 8, 1942. [4] *Ibid.*, March 22, 1942.

significance when considered in conjunction with the Polish-Czechoslovak confederation agreement. On January 21 of this year the Polish and Czechoslovak governments approved a detailed plan for a post-war confederation which "should also embrace other states of the European region with which the Czechoslovak and Polish vital interests are connected."[5] In addition the two governments adopted a resolution expressing their satisfaction with the conclusion of the Yugoslav-Greek agreement and their conviction that the security and prosperity of the European lands between the Baltic and Aegean seas depend primarily upon the collaboration of the two federal systems.

Again, these pacts are but a step in the right direction. In the early 1930's conferences were held, speeches were made and books were written—all on behalf of Balkan federation. The final outcome was merely an anti-Bulgarian *entente* which was concerned primarily with maintaining the territorial *status quo* and which proved quite incapable of presenting a united Balkan front against Italian and German aggression. Certainly age-old questions regarding frontiers and minorities must be solved before any genuine Balkan federation can be established. Nevertheless the governments are now committed to a reorganization on federal lines and at the end of this war, as in 1918, one may confidently expect mass pressure and demand for the materialization of these plans.

Such is the situation in the Balkans today. The spirit of the Balkan peoples remains unbroken. The old frontiers, the old dynasties, the old ruling classes have been swept away. The ground has been cleared for the future, and there is much of promise in the present prospects for that future. But to realize this promise, vision, understanding and courageous leadership are necessary.

[5]Texts of the Greek-Yugoslav and Polish-Czechoslovak agreements in *Inter-Allied Review*, Feb. 15, 1942.

CANADIAN ANTHOLOGIES, NEW AND OLD

A. J. M. Smith

THE publication, in Canada, the United States, and England, of a compact anthology of Canadian poetry in the widely circulated Penguin Books[1] is an event of more than literary importance. For quite apart from its merit the new book seems, as one of the reviewers in the Toronto press put it, "foredoomed" to have a big sale not only in Canada but throughout the whole English-speaking world. People in England and America who want to know whether Canada has an intellectual and spiritual identity are going to seek an answer in the hundred and twenty pages of this book. That they may perhaps be a little disappointed is not Mr Gustafson's fault. His scope was hardly large enough, and he has wisely avoided attempting the impossible. There is refreshingly little in his introduction—as there is much in the prefaces of previous anthologists—about Nationhood, Empire, the Canadian Spirit, and abstractions of that sort. Instead he merely tells us that he has tried to make a small collection of good poems written by Canadians since Confederation. "I have measured and judged my material," he writes, "not by historical significance nor by 'Canadianism' but in terms of vitality. . . . I am hoping that the poems herein will become synonymous with *pleasure*." This is admirable, for it enables us to discuss the book as poetry and to discover why, although it is much slighter than many previous Canadian anthologies, it is one of the best that has ever been made. Such a statement is not in itself, alas, very high praise, and there is much more to be said in favour of the new collection than that, just as there is something to be said also about the weakening effect of the limitations imposed upon the compiler. The book is so good that we are surprised and a little annoyed that it isn't better.

It is the purpose of this article to examine the new anthology in the light of some of the more important anthologies which, from 1864 to the present, have given us a series of views of Canadian

[1] *Anthology of Canadian Poetry* (*English*), compiled by Ralph Gustafson, Penguin Books, 1942.

poetry at various stages of its development and have helped to establish a tradition of ideas and values that are now in the process of being modified under the impact of criticism like that of Mr E. K. Brown and Mr W. E. Collin, and poetry like that of the younger writers represented in the final pages of Mr Gustafson's collection.

One of the most surprising things about Canadian anthologies is the number of them. In addition to the inclusive major works—Edward Hartley Dewart's *Selections from Canadian Poets* (1864), W. D. Lighthall's *Songs of the Great Dominion* (1889), Theodore Harding Rand's *A Treasury of Canadian Verse* (1900), Wilfred Campbell's *Oxford Book of Canadian Verse* (1913), and John W. Garvin's *Canadian Poets* (1916 and 1926)—there have been a number of small fastidious selections of short lyrics—Mrs S. Frances Harrison's *A Canadian Birthday Book* (1887) and Lawrence J. Burpee's *Flowers from a Canadian Garden* (1909) and *A Century of Canadian Sonnets* (1910) are the best of these—and a fairly large number of books designed for use in schools and colleges. Among these one of the best was E. A. Hardy's *Selections from Canadian Poets* (1906), though the most useful to the student today is Carman and Pierce's *Our Canadian Literature* (revised 1935). A. M. Stephen's *Golden Treasury of Canadian Lyrics* (1928) is mainly maple fudge, while the explanatory notes are on an appropriately puerile level.

One of the most useful functions of an anthology is to introduce the work of young or unknown writers or to present new developments in technique and feeling. The last pages of the new collection concern themselves with this task, but there have been two significant little books, one published as early as 1893 and one as recently as 1936, which were mainly occupied with this pioneering work. These were J. E. Wetherell's *Later Canadian Poems* and a group production entitled *New Provinces*, which contained poems by E. J. Pratt, Robert Finch, Leo Kennedy, A. M. Klein, F. R. Scott, and the present writer. Wetherell's book, apart from its small range, is one of the best of Canadian anthologies. It came at the beginning of a remarkable period in Canadian literature and was able to present excellent selections from the work of Carman, Lampman, Roberts, Duncan Campbell Scott, Campbell, and Frederick George Scott. It is one of the few anthologies that does justice to the poetry of George Frederick Cameron. *New Provinces* in comparison is a slight achievement. This, however, does not indicate that modern Canadian poetry is inferior (except

perhaps in bulk) to that of the eighties and nineties. The slightness of the book is due partly to the timidity of Canadian publishers and partly to the prejudice that most of the contributors felt against size and inflation, whether of thought or feeling. They aimed at brevity, wit, and intellectual concentration, and eschewed the ambition to be major poets as surely as the contributors to Wetherell clung to it. Two other anthologies of this type ought to be mentioned in passing. They are Nathaniel Benson's *Modern Canadian Poetry* (1930) and Ethel Hume Bennet's *New Harvesting* (1938). These both performed useful work, though not so much as they might have if they had not been so corrupted by gentility. This at least was not the fault of Professor E. K. Brown's Canadian Number of *Poetry* (Chicago, April, 1941), which must be considered as a small anthology of modern Canadian verse. What was most impressive about this issue was the general level of skill and intelligence in the verse, and the thoroughness and brilliance of the critical material that accompanied it.

These are not all the anthologies of Canadian poetry, but they are the more significant ones. Most important of all, because unfortunately they *are* Canadian poetry, or all that is known of it, are the big general anthologies; and it is upon these that we must concentrate.

II

The first anthology of English-Canadian verse was published in Montreal in 1864. Its complete title was *Selections from Canadian Poets, With Occasional Critical and Biographical Notes and an Introductory Essay on Canadian Poetry*, by Edward Hartley Dewart, D.D. The compiler's intentions were sensible and modest. Dr Dewart comes closer than any other editor to Mr Gustafson's simple determination merely to present some good poems by Canadians, and he makes the most of his rather poor material by supplying a critical introduction that is still relevant at many points to the situation today. The text consists of 172 poems by 47 authors, and the poems are divided into three groups, Sacred and Reflective, Descriptive and National, and Miscellaneous Pieces, containing respectively 32, 59, and 81 poems. Within each group the poems are arranged according to theme and mood in the manner of Palgrave's *Golden Treasury*. The largest space is given to Charles Sangster, the next to Alexander McLachlan,

the backwoods poet, and the next to Heavysege. Sangster is declared to be Canada's greatest poet.

Most of the poems in the book seem "elegant" and old-fashioned. They might find a place in one of those handsomely bound collections of album verses drawn from the popular ladies' magazines and found in Victorian drawing-rooms. Sentimental piety, melodramatic emotion, and conventional feeling about nature, expressed in rather dull verse, make up the greater part of the book. Yet this is what might have been expected, and to dismiss the book with a patronizing sneer would be extremely foolish. It had certain very positive virtues, and as a pioneer anthology, coming at the end of one period of Canadian literature and the beginning of another, it helped to clear the atmosphere and point the way to the future. It was prefaced by a serious and intelligent essay, and in the biographical and critical notes scattered throughout the text it presented a correct evaluation of the two or three leading poets of the time. And it contained a small number—perhaps twenty—of good sound poems that can still be read as poems, not as curiosities.

The most useful function of the book today, of course, is to supply the curious student of Canadian culture with a wealth of bibliographical and critical information about the literature of the first half of the nineteenth century, while the introduction offers him an intelligent discussion of the problems faced by the Canadian poet—problems that do not seem to have been solved but to have been intensified by the development of the nation.

"There is probably no country in the world, making equal pretensions to intelligence and progress," wrote Dr Dewart, "where the claims of native literature are so little felt, and where every effort in poetry has been met with so much coldness and indifference, as in Canada." Even worse than popular neglect of "our most meritorious authors," he added, is the general absence of interest and faith in all nativist literature.

Only last year Professor E. K. Brown was writing in the Canadian number of *Poetry* sentences which may be placed beside those of Dr Dewart. "Even within the national borders," he observed, "the impact of Canadian literature has been relatively superficial. The almost feverish concern with its growth on the part of a small minority is no substitute for eager general sympathy or excitement. To one who takes careful account of the difficulties which have steadily beset its growth, its survival as something

interesting and vital seems a miracle." Professor Brown analysed these difficulties with great perspicacity into their economic and psychological aspects: our subservience to English and American publishing houses, our colonial attitude of mind, our pioneer inheritance of a narrow practicality, and our regional loyalties. It is amazing to see in this modern appraisal the end-points of the various factors described by Dewart in 1864.

It is the colonial point of view that both the later critic and the earlier assail as responsible for most of our weakness. "Our colonial position," Dewart declared, "is not favourable to the growth of an indigenous literature," and he mentioned particularly the unfortunate effect of the Canadian's sentimental attachment to the Mother Country and his intellectual subservience to her. Among other influences antagonistic to the development of a national literature he noted religious intolerance and political bigotry. And he was already able to observe that "indiscriminate praise, by the press, of some writers, in which, whatever their merit, the dross was largely mixed with the pure ore," had tended to give these authors "false notions of their talent and achievement." This indeed has a familiar ring, and so have some of Dr Dewart's other observations. The booksellers, he found, who make large sales and surer profits on English and American works do not push a Canadian book in accordance with its merits—the expense and risk being generally the author's.

On the subject of nationalism and poetry, Dr Dewart spoke with conviction. He was an ardent advocate of Confederation. "A national literature," he believed, "is an essential element in the formation of national character. It is not merely the record of a country's mental progress: it is the expression of its intellectual life, the bond of national unity, and the guide of national energy." He doubted whether a people could be "united politically, without the subtle but powerful cement of patriotic literature," and expressed regret that the "tendency to sectionalism and disintegration, which is the political weakness of Canada, meets no counterpoise in the literature of the country." The persistence of that disintegrating sectionalism was noted by Professor Brown, and it is one of the factors which led him to the chastening conclusion that "Canadian literature has come into existence without any real impulse from the national life,"—a judgment which, if sound, indicates the withering of the high hopes that were to be so eloquently uttered by the critic and anthologist who, flushed with

the enthusiasm of the eighties, presented us with the second important anthology of Canadian poetry.

III

Mr W. D. Lighthall's *Songs of the Great Dominion* was published in England in 1889, just a quarter of a century after Dewart's pioneer effort. The contrast between the two books is startling. The early work is a museum piece, useful, interesting, and quaint, showing only the first faint signs of a developing national literature; but in Lighthall we are in the familiar company of the poets, then in the first flush of their power, who have now taken their places as the classics of our golden age. Lighthall was well aware of the advance and was anxious to illustrate it clearly: "The most remarkable point of difference between the selections of Dewart and the poetry which has followed, is the tone of exultation and confidence which the singers have assumed since Confederation, for up to that epoch the verse was apologetic and depressed. Everything now points hopefully. Not only is the poetry more confident, but far better."

Confidence and enthusiasm pervade the whole of Lighthall's anthology. Nationalism and Imperialism, mutually strengthening one another, are seen as the underlying spirit of the new poetry, which is presented as the characteristic contribution of "Canada, Eldest Daughter of the Empire, the Empire's completest type."

In the period between these first two anthologies Canada as a unified nation had come into being. It was a young, strenuous, self-conscious, growing nation, and when the poets that make up the bulk of Lighthall's book were writing it was almost impossible not to believe that energy, courage, industry, imagination, and shrewdness, left to themselves, must work out an immense and brilliant destiny. Self-reliance and self-help—Emerson and Samuel Smiles—blessed by the Everlasting Yea of a teeming continent, these seemed all that were needed to unlock the rich store of good things that lay ahead for sturdy Canadians. Mr Lighthall's introduction was lyrical in its expression of this faith. "The poets whose songs fill this book," he began, "are voices cheerful with the consciousness of young might, public wealth, and heroism. . . . The tone of them is *courage*;—for to hunt, to fight, to hew out a farm, one must be a man! . . . Canadians are, for the most part, descendants of armies . . . and every generation of them has stood up to battle."

There follows a paragraph that is one of the most eloquent statements in all the pages of Canadian literature of that superabundant optimism and energy which hurled two parallel railways across the prairies and through the Rockies and sent Canadian troopers to die on the banks of the Nile. It is a remarkable piece of prose, suggesting here and there so very different a thing as Whitman's preface to *Leaves of Grass*. It deserves to be reprinted:

Canada, Eldest Daughter of the Empire, is the Empire's completest type! She is the full-grown of the family,—the one first to come of age and gone out into life as a nation; and she has in her young hands the solution of all those questions which must interest every true Briton, proud and careful of the acquisitions of British discovery and conquest. She is Imperial in herself, we sons of her think, as the number, the extent, and the lavish natural wealth of her Provinces, each not less than some empire of Europe, rises in our minds; as we picture her coasts and gulfs and kingdoms and islands, on the Atlantic on one side, and the Pacific on the other; her four-thousand-mile panorama of noble rivers, wild forests, ocean-like prairies; her towering snow-capped Rockies waking to the tints of sunrise in the west; in the east her hoary Laurentians, oldest of hills. She has by far the richest extent of fisheries, forests, wheat-lands, and fur-regions in the world; some of the greatest public works; some of the loftiest mountain ranges, the vastest rivers, the healthiest and the most beautifully varied seasons. She has the best ten-elevenths of Niagara Falls, and the best half of the Inland Seas. She stands fifth among the nations in the tonnage of her commercial marine. Her population is about five million souls. Her Valley of the Saskatchewan alone, it has been scientifically computed, will support eight hundred millions. In losing the United States, Britain lost the *smaller* half of her American possessions:—the Colony of the Maple Leaf is about as large as Europe.

But what would material resources be without a corresponding greatness in man? . . .[2]

[2]A similar tone of exuberance appears also in S. Frances Harrison's *A Canadian Birthday Book* (1887). The work consists mainly of "elegant extracts," and for the most part seems closer in quality to Dewart than to Lighthall. It has some interesting bits from Sangster and Miss Crawford, and two or three little pieces by Bliss Carman, written especially for the book, that are among the poet's earliest published verses. Mrs Harrison's national enthusiasm is as warm as Mr Lighthall's. In some lines included in the anthology she undertakes to address the Motherland on behalf of Canada:

> Yet, Mother England, that new land is fair. . . .
> Her trees drop manna and her blossoms joy.
> Her harvests never fail; her streets are full
> Of her contented poor, her happy rich.

We might set over against these lines a poem of Alexander McLachlan that did *not* get into the anthologies:

> We live in a rickety house
> In a dirty dismal street,

This is poetry, of course, purer than most in the anthology itself, though these feelings find expression also in much of the verse that Lighthall included. Sangster's memorial ode on Brock is the only poem in Dewart that expresses anything of the power of this national enthusiasm, but in *Songs of the Great Dominion* there were many. Among them may be noted "Canada" and the "Confederation Ode" of Roberts, passages from Mair's "Tecumseh," and lines from Isabella Valancy Crawford's fine narrative of the frontier, "Malcolm's Katie,"—one of the most powerful and intelligent expressions of nationalism in our literature.

The anthology contains 163 poems by 56 authors, and is divided into sections under the following descriptive heads: The Imperial Spirit, The New Nationality, The Indian, The Voyageur and Habitant, Settlement Life, Sports and Free Life, The Spirit of Canadian History, Places, and (the largest section of all) Seasons. These headings indicate the somewhat narrow emphasis of the book. Lighthall himself was well aware of its limitations. "The present," he wrote, "is by no means a perfect presentation of Canadian poetry from a purely literary point of view, on account of the limitation of treatment; for it is obvious that if only what illustrates the country and its life *in a distinctive way* be chosen, the subjective and unlocal literature must be necessarily passed over, entailing the omission of most of the poems whose merit lies in perfection of finish."

Where the naked hide from day,
  And thieves and drunkards meet.

And pious folks, with their tracts,
  When our dens they enter in,
They point to our shirtless backs
  As the fruits of beer and gin. . . .

And the Parson comes and prays—
  He's very concerned 'bout our souls;
But he never asks, in the coldest days,
  How we may be off for coals.

It will be long ere the poor
  Will learn their grog to shun;
While it's raiment, food and fire
  And religion all in one. . . .

This is the voice of "her contented poor," but the anthologists, if even for a moment they considered such sad stuff, took refuge in aesthetics (their standards were those of Palgrave and Tennyson) and rejected it as doggerel.

This is a limitation, it must be remarked, that much less consciously, and often more damagingly, has made itself felt in some of the subsequent anthologies, which suffer not so much because good poems on non-Canadian subjects have been omitted as because bad poems on Canadian subjects have been included. Lighthall's book is not unreasonably cluttered up with fake Canadiana, and it is a real testimony to the compiler's taste and literary accomplishment that it remains by and large the best anthology until we come to Mr Gustafson's. Indeed, it is a necessary complement to Mr Gustafson's. Lighthall singled out the new poets of his day for just and sensible praise, and he was the last to do justice to the pre-Confederation poets, Sangster, McLachlan, and Heavysege, as he was the first to recognize the genius of Isabella Valancy Crawford, and to hail the new poets of the golden age.

IV

In the first year of the new century there appeared an anthology that aimed to free itself of the limitation of nationalism, so joyfully accepted by Lighthall. This was Theodore Harding Rand's *A Treasury of Canadian Verse*. The opening words of the preface announced that "the verse included in the volume does not treat solely or chiefly of Canadian themes."

This seems like a real understanding of the truth that it is not *Canadian* poetry we wish to find, but simply and all-sufficiently *poetry*. Yet one is soon assailed by doubts. The anthologist outlines the dominant themes of Canadian poetry:

> Here are reflected the singular loveliness of our evanescent spring. . . . Every form of natural beauty is, in some degree, caught and expressed—sometimes in homely, sometimes in classical phrase . . . . A sane and wholesome spirit is characteristic of the verse. . . . The sympathetic reader will notice a marked pictorial use of nature . . . as well as a sensuous delight in nature itself. . . . He will notice also that nature is often humanized. . . . Nor are there altogether wanting instances of that insight and vision which beholds the phenomenal and cosmic with rapt wonder and awesome beauty-gleams, radiant symbols, or sublime manifestations of the immanent and loving One in whom all things consist.[3] . . . Great personalities, high achievement, and noble character, also have inspired Canadian song. . . . A glowing devotion to native land and a loyal and loving reverence for our gracious Sovereign are characteristic notes. . . . Canadian poets have given expression to Anglo-centric conceptions and aspirations, divining with poetic insight the coming good. . . .

[3]Observe the tendency of Canadian anthologists to drop into pseudo-poetry in their prose introductions.

One must in all fairness admit that this is more disturbing to us than it was to Professor Rand's contemporaries. Yet it is not hard to see why Rand will not succeed as Lighthall had done. The earlier anthologist had a buoyant, almost boyish, enthusiasm for the robust physical life, and delighted in poems of action and courage. Rand was a teacher and moralist, and though he makes a point of telling us that he was "a Canadian by birth as were my father and his father, my mother and her mother," he was spiritually a schoolmasterly English gentleman. His book is academic and in rather frigid good taste.

It is constructed on a much more ambitious scale than Lighthall's, though its arrangement is the easy encyclopaedic one of alphabetical order by authors. It contains 346 poems by 136 authors. Their merit is various. "At times he is an inspired guide," writes Mr W. A. Deacon of Professor Rand, "and at other times apparently lacking in discrimination." Indeed, the majority of the poets included are forgotten, and though their verse is for the most part respectable enough—quite as good as that in the various yearbooks of the Canadian Authors' Association—it is mainly conventional and dull, the competent production of well-educated ladies and gentlemen who lack nothing but an original impulse and an imaginative power of expression. Scattered among these, of course, are selections from the genuine poets, which give the book whatever value it has.

V

A similar bias in favour of gentility and the Empire is found in the next comprehensive anthology—the *Oxford Book of Canadian Verse*, edited, in 1913, by the poet Wilfred Campbell. From the very beginning there was something unsatisfactory about the book. J. D. Logan, who had himself a hand in trying to right matters, described the preparation of the book in a brief chapter on anthologies in his *Highways of Canadian Literature*. Campbell had been anxious to demonstrate two points: (i) that the early poetry of Canada was worthy of more attention than it had been given since the rise of the school of '61 (in this he was right, though one would never think so from the examples he brought forward in his anthology); and (ii) that the Anglocentric Imperialist theme was of greater significance in Canadian poetry than the national. The manuscript disappointed the publishers, and it was revised by

S. B. Gundy, of the Oxford Press, and J. D. Logan, who added some fifty poems from the work of current versifiers.

The book has rather troubled the critics, who have felt vaguely dissatisfied with it, but nevertheless respected the prestige of the series to which it belonged. Logan wrote:

> Campbell's Oxford Press anthology has been frequently appreciated as the best of the treasuries of Canadian poetry. But how a volume of such fortuitous origin and construction can be the best of the Canadian anthologies, passes understanding. As an anthology, *The Oxford Book* is more than any of the other anthologies of Canadian verse a volume of poetry "of unequal merit." But the defect most conspicuous in the book is psychological rather than artistic, spiritual rather than aesthetic. It contains 251 poems by 100 poets. It is the slightest of the three great anthologies[4] and the most classical. Its contents have dignity, taste, and correctness.

Whatever this may mean, the general impression it manages to convey, that Campbell's anthology is thoroughly disappointing, is true enough. But the trouble with the book is much more simply to be ascribed to its inclusion of a preponderance of dull and pompous trash which contaminates even the few genuine living poems that, it must be emphasized, are also there. And in fairness to Campbell it must also be stated that the poems added by Gundy and Logan (nos. 211 to the end) are almost a dead loss. Only two or three pieces by Francis Sherman are up to the level of the rest of the book.

In the introduction Campbell is mainly concerned to define what limits can be placed on the term "Canadian poet." It is significant that he concentrates on the first word, not the second. The narrowest definition is stated in the sentence: "Only he who has been closely associated with a country from early childhood, and has spent all the years of his youth and maturity within its borders, can fitly interpret its life and dramatize its problems." But Campbell announces another view, which, if less constricting in its Canadianism, is almost as much so in its Anglo-Saxonism. "After all," he writes, "the true British-Canadian verse, if it has any real root and lasting influence, must necessarily be but an offshoot of the great tree of British literature, as the American school also is, though less obviously. . . . What is purely Canadian in this offshoot of the parent stock must be decided, after all, by those canons which would constitute anything distinctly Canadian. But stronger even than the so-called Canadian spirit is the voice

[4] Rand's and Garvin's are the other two.

of the Vaster Britain, which finds its utterance in the works of her poets." Here, in this Imperialist traditionalism, is one of the anthology's basic weaknesses. It is the story of Rand over again.

Possibly, however, the final explanation lies in something even simpler than the editor's Anglocentric bias. It may be that he cannot tell the difference between good poetry and bad. In support of such a theory, I take a few passages almost, if not quite, at random from a collection which (be it remembered) is intended to be representative of the best.

From a hymn in praise of domestic felicity:

A full content dwells in her face,
  She's quite in love with life,
And for a title, wears with grace
  The sweet, old-fashioned "Wife";
And so I say with pride untold,
  And love beyond degree,
This woman with the heart of gold
  She just keeps house for me—
                For me,—
  She just keeps house for me.

From one of those red-blooded poems popular in the Jack London era:

I was sired among the surges;
  I was cubbed beside the foam;
All my heart is in its verges,
  And the sea wind is my home.

From a poem entitled "Innocence":

Beneath her sloping neck
Her bosom-gourds swelled chastely, white as spray,
  Wind-tost—without a fleck—
The air which heaved them was less pure than they.

And lastly, from a stirring riding song of the R.C.N.W.M.P.:

Our mission is to plant the rule
  Of Britain's freedom here,
Restrain the lawless savage, and
  Protect the pioneer;
And 'tis a proud and daring trust
  To hold these vast domains,
With but three hundred mounted men,
  The Riders of the Plains.

Where worse faults are avoided we have dullness and academic correctness. In place of the imaginative we have the fanciful; instead of wit, archness; and instead of power, grandiloquence.

There are, as we have said, some good poems—Roberts' "Tantramar Revisited" and "Canada," Carman's "Low Tide on Grand Pré" (a standard anthology piece) and some of his Sappho lyrics, several fine things of Lampman and Duncan Campbell Scott, and a fair selection from Drummond—but once outside this group of "classics" the editor is hopelessly at a loss. The selections from the early poets and from Isabella Valancy Crawford give the reader no idea of the peculiar merits of the poets before 1880, scarcely a hint that they possessed any at all.

What is particularly to be regretted about the *Oxford Book of Canadian Verse* is that the prestige of the series to which it belongs built up high hopes. Then, when the general hollowness of the book became evident, the reading public drew the not unreasonable, though quite false, conclusion that Canadian poetry is dull, correct, and imitative, that, indeed, to all intents and purposes there is no Canadian poetry capable of interesting an adult mind. Nothing could be farther from the truth.

A revision of the *Oxford Book* is badly needed. At the time of his death, Bliss Carman was at work on the task. The result would certainly have been a great improvement over the Campbell anthology; yet the transcendental bias of Carman's *Oxford Book of American Verse* permits one to doubt whether a Canadian anthology from his hand would have been really adequate.

VI

Really adequate and perhaps a little more is what the collection that succeeded the *Oxford Book* was designed to be: John W. Garvin's ***Canadian Poets***, published in 1916 and revised and enlarged ten years later, is not only the largest Canadian anthology—it contains 392 poems by 75 authors—but the most ambitious. It is the only one that makes any pretence of including a critical apparatus, though the apparatus included is nothing if not uncritical. The judgments on the poets are almost invariably favourable and they are inevitably capricious, for they are not, in most instances, those of the editor himself but are made by a large variety of persons whose authority, in a few cases of the highest, is in most non-existent. The selections from each poet are introduced first by a photograph, then by a "blurb" from a visiting critic, and finally by some biographical and bibliographical facts collected by the editor himself.

J. D. Logan praised the book in a characteristic paragraph:

> It is not only a repository of modern Canadian poetry but also a critical *vade mecum* to 20th Century Canadian poetry. For in addition to the poems in the volume, each poet's work is prefaced by a biographical sketch and by critical appreciation or comment by others than the compiler. The latter fact relieves the critical apparatus itself of the charge of personal bias on the part of the compiler. The Garvin anthology, again, is distinguished by a peculiarity of singular spiritual import. It contains nothing that is not *typical* of the Canadian national spirit and Canadian civilization and culture. Lighthall's volume, despite its good sense and genuinely aesthetic quality, had such variety and diversity of "notes" of the spirit in it that it is hard to distinguish which is the essential note, the typical voice, and which the "overtones" of the Canadian spirit. *The Oxford Book*, again, is untypical of the Canadian spirit by way of too many poems that are "poet's poems"—too much of art for art's sake. But Garvin's *Canadian Poets* contains the work of such poets, both of the older and the younger generation, as expresses the typical work of each of the singers and the typical spirit of the Canadian people. It is a companionable volume; and it has the distinct advantage of biographical and critical comment, which fit it, according to its scope, for private reading and enjoyment and for critical study of the history of Canadian poetry. In those regards Garvin's *Canadian Poets* is an anthology which is at once aesthetically satisfying and pragmatically the most serviceable in the field that it covers.

Such nonsense has too often been allowed to pass for literary criticism in Canada. Any moderately skilful reader can see that Garvin's anthology is *not* "distinguished by a peculiarity of singular spiritual import"—assuming that *that* means something. It does not, for instance, possess anything like the spiritual unity of Lighthall. It is diverse in theme and inspiration, and the quality of the poets it presents is singularly uneven. One of its worst features is the responsibility-shifting critical apparatus that Logan so much admires. The influence of Garvin's anthology more than anything else is responsible for the outrageous over-estimate of the "genius" of Canadian poets which passes for orthodox opinion in the meeting rooms of the C. A. A.[5]

[5] A few examples must here be collected. *Albert E. S. Smythe on Wilson Macdonald:* "Who is Wilson MacDonald? Only the records of palingenesis can reveal that secret, but I fancy that he has wandered from the lost Etruscan paradise and brought with him many of the arts and mysteries that glorified that ancient people. . . . That he is a genius I have no doubt whatever. His many-sided nature is outside the range of our ordinary garden varieties. . . . He has invented new verse forms which compel the ear by their harmony and the novel chime of the rhyme. He has shown that if he writes free verse it is not for lack of facility in metrical art." *Agnes C. Laut on Albert Durrant Watson:* "He sings because he must sing—because he has a great message to deliver, because he is one of the torch-bearers to light the World-Soul passing through

If the most nearly contemporary material in the *Oxford Book* is inferior to the rest, the same may be said of Garvin. Only Tom MacInnes and Marjorie Pickthall were doing work of more than the most limited interest. Pratt had not yet produced the bulk of his characteristic poetry, and the younger poets, who enliven the second half of the Penguin anthology, were still just emerging from college. Garvin cannot, therefore, be blamed for the absence of these, but he can be censured for cluttering up the last third of the book with a vast array of minor versifiers, whose stuff ranges from the dull to the execrable, and from the pretentious to the simpering.

VII

It is where Garvin and the *Oxford Book* are weakest that the new anthology is strongest—in the more nearly contemporary material. This is not surprising, for it is since the publication of the last edition of Garvin's *Canadian Poets* in 1926 that the modern revival of poetry has made itself felt in Canada. Some of its fruits are now, almost for the first time, being presented in Mr Gustafson's collection.

The story of the book's publication is a curious one. It was intended by the authorities concerned with the educational facilities of the Canadian army to provide the soldiers with a small pocket compendium of poetry in which the spirit of their homeland and the patriotic sentiments they were supposed to feel might be found conveniently preserved. And Mr Gustafson was entrusted with the task of compilation. He carried it out as a young man and a poet might have been expected to. He did not commit the error that one of our professional cherishers of the poetic flame would certainly have made. He resisted (or he did not feel) the temptation to fill the book with easy, commonplace patriotic

the dark that ever precedes the dawn. . . . Something has entered Canadian literature with the sublimity of an Emerson or a Whitman." *Robert Norwood on Charles Mair:* "As an interpreter of nature, Mair is at one with Carmen, Roberts, and Lampman. . . . In technique Carman, Roberts, and Lampman surpass him; but in strength of gesture and firmness of touch on the great motives of human conduct he out-classes them. . . . Charles Mair is not only the dean of Canadian letters; he is our most authentic poet." It must be added that there are a few critiques that are wholly admirable. Among these should be named Dr Pelham Edgar's on Archibald Lampman and the late Professor Cappon's on C. G. D. Roberts. All, of course, are short extracts culled by Garvin from critical articles and reviews.

pieces and popular poetry of the maple-leaf school.[6] Instead he has provided something that a Canadian may show without mortification to an Englishman or an American who asks, "But is there any Canadian poetry?"

The book is not, of course, a comprehensive and general work of the magnitude of those we have been discussing. In a sense it is an anthology of modern verse, and this is not only because most of the exciting and interesting poems are in the later part of the book but because the selections from the older, established poets seem more perfunctory and conventional than they might have been could the editor but have brought to these writers the same careful enthusiasm as to his contemporaries. It is regrettable, too, that some of the minor figures were not ruthlessly sacrificed to make room for a dozen poems of the pre-Confederation period—a period that contains some poetry of an interest and a power at present quite unsuspected. And, to get over the carping as quickly as possible, it must be recorded that Mr Gustafson has missed an opportunity to reveal the amazing quality of Isabella Valancy Crawford and George Frederick Cameron. Pauline Johnson is omitted, but the loss is not great.

The selections from the Carman-Lampman-Roberts-Scott group are not exactly conventional; yet they do little to alter the impression that the most conventional choices would have given. The excellence of Lampman as a poet of landscape; Carman's masterly apprehension of the disturbing impingement of the mysterious upon reality; the superiority of Roberts's poems of the New Brunswick countryside to his more pretentious "cosmic utterances" or his recent patriotic verse: all this is clearly demonstrated by the selections from these poets. Only in the case of the poems by Duncan Campbell Scott must we note a failure to suggest the peculiar strength of a remarkable and underestimated poet.

Of the poets of the interim—the partially filled vacuum between Lampman and Pratt—the three most interesting figures, Francis Sherman, Marjorie Pickthall and Tom MacInnes, might have been more fully and more fortunately represented. One or two of Miss Pickthall's last Christina-Rossetti-like lyrics, "Resurgam" or "Quiet," would have shown her at a higher peak of achievement than the rather overweighted lines from "Palome."

[6]He even leaned so far backward as to omit Robert W. Service entirely, which is a pity, for "The Shooting of Dan McGrew" is a vivid and entertaining poem.

MacInnes is a charming and high-spirited poet, who wrote an unforgettable poem called "Zalinka" that begins:

> Last night in a land of triangles
> I lay in a cubicle where
> A girl in pyjamas and bangles
> Slept with her hands in my hair.

It would have been a pleasant surprise to have found this in an anthology of Canadian verse. But though it is absent, there are plenty of pleasant surprises in the new book. Every reader will be grateful to Mr Gustafson for recovering from the files of the *Canadian Forum* the late Raymond Knister's deeply felt and objectively rendered farm poems. And here and there, particularly among the modern poems, but not there only, one comes upon discoveries that the older anthologies can rarely afford. Earle Birney's "Slug in Woods," Alan Creighton's "Spring Workman," Robert Finch's "Train Window," Neil Tracy's "I Doubt a Lovely Thing is Dead," W. W. E. Ross's "The Diver," Charles Bruce's "Words are Never Enough," Leo Kennedy's "Bitter Stream": these—and the list could be lengthened considerably—testify to the subtlety, exactness, and intelligence of the modern movement in Canadian poetry. Among the older writers also we are shown some fine things that previous anthologists missed. Lampman's haunting "Midnight" and Helena Coleman's beautiful sonnet "As Day Begins to Wane" are found among classics no better but more familiar.

Another thing to be said in favour of the new anthology is that it is not solemn or stodgy. If for a moment it seems to sink, the book contains its own antidote and we can turn back for refreshment to "The Ahkoond of Swat." This is not the only example of light verse (why wasn't it in any of the other anthologies?), but it is perhaps the only piece of comic poetry, unless Mr F. R. Scott's "Tourist Time," which is certainly witty and satirical, is also comic. "The Wreck of the 'Julie Plante' " (which if only one piece of Drummond's is to be chosen is the inevitable right choice) is in part a comic poem, but it is something more—a genuine expression of the instinctive combining of humour and tragedy in the popular mind. We are grateful to Mr Gustafson, too, for demonstrating by his inclusion of Mr L. A. Mackay's lines from "The Ill-Tempered Lover" that Canadian poets can express other emotions than noble ones.

It will be expected that the impact of the war should have made itself felt more powerfully than this anthology seems to indicate, but I am not sure whether the book is not more truly representative than a self-conscious anthology of war poetry like the unfortunate *Voices of Victory*. Canada has not yet come close enough to the smell of blood for it to enter the brains of her poets, and we can find here as yet little but vicarious emotion. The editor was wise not to include many war poems. Certainly the one or two examples of the work of the older poets in this vein are among the less fortunate pieces. It is instructive to compare the conventional "In Flanders Fields" with a present-day handling of a similar theme in Mr Gustafson's own "Dedication."

* * *

It will perhaps be fitting to bring this account of our anthologies to a penitential conclusion by confessing that I have been writing as if it were an easy task to compile an anthology and as if my own taste and my own opinions were as good, if not better, than the anthologists'. I have been complaining about their inclusions and lamenting their omissions, treating each as if I had expected him to be the ideal anthologist. What incredible folly!

The ideal anthologist is a paragon of tact and learning. In him an impeccable taste is combined with a completeness and accuracy of information that is colossal. To an understanding of historical development and social upheavals he adds a sensitiveness to the finest nuances of poetic feeling. He is unprejudiced, impersonal, humble, self-confident, catholic, fastidious, original, traditional, adventurous, sympathetic, and ruthless. He has no special axe to grind. He is afraid of mediocrity and the verses of his friends. He does not exist.

LETTERS IN CANADA: 1941

Edited by A. S. P. Woodhouse

Part II

V. FRENCH-CANADIAN LETTERS — W. E. Collin

Among the books published during 1941 in French Canada it has been my good fortune to find some fascinating poetry and literary criticism, a few remarkable novels, and a book dealing with the origins of French-Canadian ideas.

Mgr Emile Chartier's book, *La Vie de l'esprit*, is the story of the origin and development of the ideas and doctrines which have enabled the French Canadians to survive and retain their culture. The value of a work such as this is that it shows the connection between a dogma and the political conditions at the time of its invention and in that way tends to loosen the hold it has on our minds. The dogma of national superiority, professed by M. Montpetit and others, is fatal, says the author. It is founded, not upon reasoning and written texts, but upon sentiment. Yet there are signs that the author himself subscribes to the dogma. He censures the extreme views of the "Action française," but he does not exorcize the dogma. He hates violent consequences, but he does not hate "nationalisation."

One finds the same historical logic in the discourses of the abbé Lionel Groulx: *Paroles à des étudiants* and *Notre Mission française*. It is curious logic because, having the appearance of resting upon "séries de faits bien vérifiés, rigoureusement contrôlés," it actually rests upon a conviction of superiority and of "notre mission française."

The classical school system is one of the evidences of this superiority; it is superior because it gives students a solid foundation and fits them for life, and not for one particular profession. M. Edouard Montpetit calls the school a bastion. In his inquiry into American influence in the schools, *Reflets d'Amérique*, this author realizes that American influence is inescapable but, provided it is bent to the French genius and not merely suffered, he believes that French Canada is not only saved but fortified.

We meet this thesis again in Mgr Olivier Maurault's *Propos et portraits*. The Rector's principal theme is French Canada's providential mission on the American continent. The new note in the book is the feeling that among university faculties the theological faculty is queen, first in dignity. This is why the author devotes a long chapter to the work of Pope Pius XI and to programmes of Thomist philosophy. "It is our ambition," he writes, "to create at Montreal this school of Christian thought the diffusion of which may be immense."

Pour Former des Hommes nouveaux presents the doctrine in the form of exhortations. At the opening of classes, or at a banquet, the Rector of Laval University places before his assembled students a text of scripture, draws out of it lessons which will keep their minds fixed upon the immutable Christian law of life, and exhorts them to be true to it, to their inheritance, to their mission as apostles of light and peace. "Let your light so shine before men"—let it shine upon social problems. Give to your dreams two wings: intelligence and virtue. To professors he says: Teach the growing generation the doctrines of life which kill egoism, a moral law which will make the evangelical virtues flower and, through them, create a new society.

Against these interpretations of the doctrine the work of the abbé Arthur Maheux stands out in marked contrast. "The walls of the city are too high," he says, in *Propos sur l'éducation*. With the same high regard for classical culture, the same concern for the survival of the race, his disposition to French-Canadian problems differs from M. Montpetit's. Where one speaks of "superiority" the other speaks of "difference." Professor Maheux sees something good, even classical, in the study of science, music, drawing, in manual training, physical training, even in military discipline. In an ingenious aside he reminds us how Monseigneur de Laval, while he founded a Seminary, also helped to establish the Ecole des Arts et Métiers for the training of carpenters, shoemakers, masons, sculptors, and painters. Utilize all the resources at your disposal, he counsels teachers, all the libraries and museums at your doorstep. Let us build children's libraries, encourage our children to read.

Another book by the same author, *Ton Histoire est une épopée*, is an excellent example of the application of the historical method to the end of eradicating prejudices. His aim in this book is to

show that French Canadians have much to be grateful for. The colonists were thrice blessed, according to the author: they obtained an advantageous capitulation, they did not have a harsh governor, they had Murray. Murray loved the colonists, he encouraged industry, he recognized the necessity of using the French language in his relations with Canadians, and he did not believe that the British laws against Catholics should apply to Quebec. While Professor Maheux's broader humanism is an aspect of the struggle for survival, he himself is a warrior fortified with a magnanimity which must be rare indeed.

There is still another way of fighting: which is Francœur's. Louis Francœur, whose voice used to be heard over the radio in "La situation ce soir," was killed in a motor accident last summer. One of Valdombre's *Pamphlets* is devoted to him. Blaise Orlier, in his brochure *Louis Francœur, journaliste*, calls him a kind of "gros Léon Daudet canadien." After four years spent in captivity during the last war, and three years in journalism in Paris, Francœur settled in his native province and occupied himself with journalism and politics. He was regarded as the greatest Canadian journalist after Asselin and Fournier. He had the physique of a fighter and the soul of a Benedictine, a hearty laugh and appetite, an enormous capacity for work, a solid culture and a knowledge of several European languages. The provincialism and the "hypocritical conformism" of his compatriots came under the lash of his satire. His "dégonflages" in *La Revue moderne* are famous:

> Car nous sommes, Dieu merci! un peuple qui ne possède aucun des défauts de la nature humaine! Notre fardeau qui est, comme chacun sait, "de perpétuer l'esprit latin au Nouveau-Monde," est si lourd, si écrasant, que nous ne pouvons nous distraire, nous oublier ou sourire un seul instant. . . . Soyons donc francs, une fois pour toutes! Avouons donc que nous n'avons à peu près rien de français, sauf la langue, et encore. . . ! L'esprit français nous a quittés depuis trente ans au moins. . . . Le sens de la blague, de la caricature, de la satire est complètement disparu de nos rives.

The question, "Has the time not come for French Canadians to abandon their defensive attitude?" is discussed by Professor J. B. Brebner of Columbia University in *Le Canada français*. Instead of seeking refuge in the past, he would say: "The French of North America have made this and that contribution to the progress of North America and of the world." In a way, Professor Brebner answers his own question. Crowds come, he says, to Nova Scotia to study co-operatives, to Toronto to study under

masters grouped around M. Etienne Gilson, and to the medical schools of Canada. He might have added: they are coming or will come to Montreal to study religious music. On this subject M. Montpetit reports: "Avant que le plain-chant ne fût réformé, les manuels canadiens-français étaient 'ce qu'il y avait de mieux' en Amérique. Au Conservatoire de Montréal, on a greffé la composition sur la théorie grégorienne et, 'si le Conservatoire était mieux organisé, il attirerait des élèves de New-York et de Boston.'" Grafting musical composition on Gregorian theory takes us back to the work of Vincent d'Indy and the Schola Cantorum in Paris. Fortunately we have at hand a masterly study of d'Indy which enables us to see a connection between the Montreal Conservatory and the Schola Cantorum. In this study, *Le Chant grégorien dans l'enseignement et les œuvres musicales de Vincent D'Indy*, the abbé Fernand Biron of Mont-Laurier recapitulates the events which opened a new period of musical history marked by the restoration and development of sacred music.

Tout d'abord la restauration des monodies grégoriennes par les Bénédictins de Solesmes. Dom Pothier publie ses *Mélodies Grégoriennes* (1880) et le *Liber Gradualis* (1884); Dom Mocquereau entreprend, en 1889, la publication de la *Paléographie Musicale*. Peu de temps après se fondent à Paris deux institutions remarquables: l'Association des Chanteurs de Saint-Gervais (1892) sous la direction de Charles Bordes, et la Société Schola Cantorum (1894) due à l'initiative de V. d'Indy, Ch. Bordes et A. Guilmant, et dont la fin principale était la création d'une Ecole de Chant liturgique et de Musique religieuse (1896). Enfin, vint en 1903 l'immortel décret de Pie X sur la musique sacrée. Le *Motu Proprio* approuve le bon travail accompli et impose une ligne de conduite aux musiciens d'église."

These events are placed against the background of nineteenth-century decadence; but the illuminating portions of this study of d'Indy are the detailed analyses of those canticles and tableaux which contain Gregorian themes. Vincent d'Indy was a Christian: his teaching was inspired by his belief that art is essentially religious and the religious idea which permeates his music distinguishes it from other masterpieces and constitutes its superiority.

The voice of the race makes French Canadians turn their eyes to France. They remember that she abandoned them in 1760, but they still love her, more than ever because of her present misfortunes. It is the France of the past that they love, the traditional France, humanist and Catholic. "What more than one regrets in France, at Paris," writes Mgr Camille Roy, "is that

no faith . . . , no human faith, doctrinal or social, groups the minds of masters and students about the directing principles of life." There were, however, in that same Paris, a band of men who, saddened by the materialism and the spiritual bankruptcy they saw about them, devoted their talents to the re-discovery of man and to the restoration of spiritual values. M. Paul Péladeau speaks of them in his book, *On Disait en France*, which is the best of the books giving an eye-witness account of France during the war. Books such as Léonce Boivin's *Le Combat social* and M. René Bergeron's *Le Corps mystique de l'antéchrist* show that French Canadians view the war as a fight between Christian and pagan doctrines. The overwhelming majority of them, according to M. Jean-Charles Harvey (*French Canada at war*), favour General de Gaulle because he stands for absolute resistance.

Christian and humanist France survives in French Canada. A religious feeling pervades the descriptive writing of Odette M. des Neiges Fortin (*Dans le Calme des soirs*), the abbé Léonce Boivin (*Dans nos Montagnes*), and Michelle Le Normand (*La Maison aux phlox*)—naïve in the first of these books, which draws out of the Chapdelaine countryside moral lessons for school children, historical in the second, more artistic in the last. The Gaspé region is seen through the eyes of a naturalist in Claude Mélançon's *Par Terre et par eau*, which is a thrilling adventure story, fairly credible, for boys and girls. French Canadians are not conspicuous for their humour. Two books, however, reduce the severity of Francœur's judgment. Robert Choquette's *Les Velder* is a true picture of a boarding-house—so true that it is monotonous—salted with humour by a clever pen. Maurois, in a preface to the book, remarks that Choquette may one day play the role of a Canadian Dickens. He may indeed, "s'il observe et travaille beaucoup" and if he observes that there are more vivid and nobler characters in the world than those we usually hear about in radio serials. Maurice Desjardins is a pure humorist. In *Le Party chez Piperleau* the old picaresque spirit lives again in a strictly modern environment. This cocktail of "blague," "caricature" and "satire" is calculated to produce a hearty laugh from beginning to end. *La Lignée*, a "roman paysan" by Pays Gleba, shows that the uncertainty of the rush for gold is not worth the security of the good earth. Written in peasant speech, it is fashioned after the work of Giono, whose philosophy it reflects: "Ne travaillez plus pour

vendre; travaillez pour vivre. . . . La vraie culture de l'homme c'est précisément son travail, mais un travail qui soit sa vie." Another thesis novel is Charles-H. Beaupray's *Les Beaux Jours viendront*, the fictional counterpart of M. Montpetit's economics. A student in the School of Social and Political Sciences succeeds in forming a union and consumers' co-operative among the workers employed in a saw-mill in a mountain village. After a strike, brought on by the dictatorial conduct of the manager, the mill is taken over by the co-operative, liberty replaces the old slavery, the good days come, and everybody is happy. The book is written in the belief that "it is in the economic field that we shall win the true and definitive victory."

Les Opiniâtres is an exciting historical novel by Léo-Paul Desrosiers, who has been elected to the historical fraternity, "Les Dix," in place of the late M. Ægidius Fauteux. The story is a tribute paid by an historian to the dogged qualities of the early settlers of Three Rivers. The hero's vision and tenacity, his son's spirit of adventure, his wife's devotion and courage, life under the shadow of Iroquois cruelty, the family's obstinacy in thrusting its roots deep in the wilderness despite adversity, are intended to picture the qualities of the French-Canadian soul. All the familiar pictures are utilized by the author: tortured colonists, Jesuit missionaries, Dollard, Radisson. The states of soul attributed to Pierre are standardized, historical. The book bears all the marks of the French-Canadian historian; too few of the French novelist, the scrutinizer of souls. This is particularly true of the first half. The second half, however, is a graphic and gripping drama. On the other hand Mlle Laetitia Filion's *L'Espion de l'Ile-aux-Coudres* has genuine Stendhalian qualities, despite the many obvious improbabilities and even if the author strains her imagination to find a traitor among a young man's remote ancestors so as to bring the drama within the framework of the French-Canadian ethic. The moral of the tale is given in an epilogue: "Elle a su être fidèle à sa race et conserver les traditions de simplicité qui font sa grandeur et sa force." Alfred Glauser's *Le Vent se lève* is a study of spiritual loneliness and adaptation to a new world. André, a young Frenchman from the Alps, comes to a small village on the prairies. An exile, finding the winter unconscionably long, and the landscape monotonous and dreary after the Alps, he sends for Thérèse. The last chapter is a masterly piece of symbolism. Back home in the

Alps, where their school companions no longer remember them, Thérèse said, weeping, "Nous voici maintenant à la maison nulle part." Her mother died. In the cemetery Thérèse said: "J'ai peur, André. Tout ce monde qui passe! Et nous n'avons que commencé de vivre." The village is a cemetery. It is Valéry's "cimetière" out of which they must escape into life: "Le vent se lève! . . . Il faut tenter de vivre!" The truth of this book is absolute. Glauser is a poet. He is perhaps too prodigal with his images. His poetic and static prose changes into dramatic description; his artistic sensibility catches the exact vision and dialogue that translate the loneliness and the besetting human problems that wring the heart of a *déraciné*. Robert Charbonneau's *Ils Posséderont la Terre*, which the author first published in his review, *La Relève*, is a landmark in French-Canadian literature, not merely because it escapes from the cycle of *Maria Chapdelaine* but also because it moves in the domain of universal emotions. The theme is adolescence, its demonic fevers, its fall into temptation. The special religious atmosphere, that of French Canada, is tinctured with the vulgar fatality of *Jude the Obscure*. The principal action, which defines the morality of the novel, is this: Ly flirts with André while assuring herself that she has Edward and Génier to fall back on. Wishing to fool André, who is attracted by Dorothée, she comes to Edward and exercises her arts upon him. Edward, a religious soul who had returned from the Seminary after making a beginning in the religious life, falls into this woman's clutches. His mother had taught him a horror of sin, yet when Ly was free he married her, out of moral cowardice, for she no longer represented what he had seen in her at first and she made him afraid. These people lack one thing: charity, "le don de soi." Their world is insincere and chaotic. The moral climate aside, what arrests us in the work is the author's art. Charbonneau describes inner life at its moment of maximum vitality, when it draws all things inward to itself and weighs them in its secret balances until the body cries out in anguish. Hence these people, not physically remarkable, are presences, tormented spirits. Flaubert's art could not serve Charbonneau; he needs the religio-psychological equipment of a Mauriac. Yet everywhere along this psychic labyrinth he has known how to keep his narrative beautifully simple. The "prologue" is a literary curiosity. It is written in the first person; the narrator, André, becomes one of the charac-

ters in the novel. Charbonneau is not the first to do this; but one wonders why he chose André rather than Edward for the role.

The drama published in 1941 was religious drama: either of the type "jeu" or moral lesson. The word "jeu" takes us back to the middle ages when the people derived their aesthetic enjoyment from religion, from the ceremonies of the Church. It is this atmosphere of natural piety that François Hertel wishes to evoke in his "jeu scout" entitled *Notre-Dame des Laurentides*. Written for the feast of the Assumption, it is to be played under the sky to the music of voices, which are "the invisible choir of things"—birds, forest, mountain, winds, sky, lakes. "C'est le temps d'adorer Dieu," says the poet. "Place à la prière, primitive et placentaire!" Father Barjon's *Jeu de Nostre-Dame* is in the spirit of the medieval mysteries. Rina Lasnier's *Le Jeu de la voyagère* is a play based on the life of Marguerite Bourgeoys, the founder of schools in Montreal. There is some symbolism, but the author has overloaded her drama with historical matter drawn from Robert Rumilly's book. Father Gustave Lamarche's *Jeu choral pour une journée apostolique féminine* is designed to teach the young mothers of today how to bring up their children in the spirit of Christian discipline and love. In this age of progress mothers indulge their children and find their homes in an uproar. In the presence of the Queen of Sheba, who is Queen of the Universe and represents the Holy Church, judgment on the matter is given in the words of the New Testament and Pope Pius IX's Encyclical on education. The same author's *Les Enfants jettent l'outrage* is a one-act drama with a religious application. A worldly father, a business man, is enraged because his son flouts his parental authority and goes off to Mexico, having read Baudelaire's *Voyage*. A poor journalist reminds the father that God is the End, the Beginning, and the Middle, and advises him that if he, the father, returns to God, then the prodigal son will return to the father. Things have changed since the days when priests thundered from the pulpit against female impersonators. Here are Marguerite Bourgeoys, the Queen of Sheba, Faith, even the Virgin herself. But the practice has the Pope's blessing: "They are therefore to be commended and developed, all those educational works which aim to promote truly instructive *spectacles*, going as far as to create, at the cost of great sacrifices, *theatres* in which virtue has nothing to lose, even much to gain." Under this impulse societies have come

into being such as the "Compagnons de Saint-Laurent" and the "Paraboliers du Roi," the latter a dramatic corporation founded by Father Lamarche (1939) for the promotion of religious drama.

François Hertel is the important poet of the year, but we shall mention one or two others. A. Paquette, in a small volume, *Vae victis*, curses Hitler through ninety quatrains. Mlle Jeannine Bélanger would have improved her volume of *Stances à l'éternel absent* if she had omitted all that does not concern the eternal absent: all the exercises in rhyme and assonance, the padding, the repetitions, the echoes of other poets' lines, all the *ô*'s, the improvisations on given themes: "j'ai peur de," "il pleuvra," "vous reviendrez." Although these improvisations do, in "Neiges d'antan" and "Santa Claus," touch upon a lived experience, childhood in Canada, the general fact about them is that they are "given" and not lived. Thought there is none, metaphors are commonplaces, the allusions—"âme trop pleine," "l'angoisse de ce lieu," "cœur qui se brise,"—have no dramatic equivalents, that is, there is no real sorrow, no "voyage," no "exil"—until we come to "Lettre," "Elégie," "La Lampe," "Prière," "Voices in the Night," and then we are in another atmosphere. We hear again the authentic heart-broken cry of Marceline Desbordes-Valmore. In the *Transactions of the Royal Society* Maurice Hébert published extracts from his "Le Cycle de Don Juan." Here the famous enchanter, weary of wandering the earth for three hundred years, lies down and weeps Verlainian tears. This arrogant has the heart of a decadent poet:

> O Volupté, ton sort est de finir,
> Cendreuse nostalgie, ombre du souvenir,
> Comme sèche la fleur d'une amour ancienne!

Having lost his daring and mocking laughter he has become soft, a prey to fear and remorse, but he is saved at last, according to romantic etiquette, by a pure love. There is a poem, partly descriptive, partly meditative, of Robert Choquette's in the December number of the new review *Amérique française*. In *La Nouvelle Relève* there is a poem by Gilles Hénault, entitled "L'Invention de la Roue," comprising two songs, two meditations, and a dialogue in rhyming couplets. In this poem, a kind of "rouade," there are figures of Archimedes, Euclid, circle, revolution, moon, steamer, together with the illusion of progress:

Le Progrès, hors de l'homme, est un progrès qui ment:
Il nous promet la lune à l'escale prochaine;
Il nous promet la lune et nous donne des chaînes.

So the poet is content to remain anchored where he is:

Je n'ai d'autre désir après tant d'espérance
Que de m'ancrer au port sans songer aux partances.

The poems of Pierre Baillargeon, appearing in *Amérique française*, should be noted as evidence, along with Hertel's, of an awakening religious consciousness. Here is one of them picturing the wandering heart that God watches and leads back home to Himself:

RETOUR

Je ne connais pas une route
Assez longue pour me lasser,
Ni qui me mène loin assez
De la maison que je redoute;

Là pourtant Dieu me reconduit;
En vain je cours jusqu'à la nuit
Et la terre qui s'offre toute

Se déroule à mes yeux sans fin:
Il attend l'heure ou le chemin
Gagne l'ombre au fond de la route,

Lorsque mon cœur sera trop lourd
De son amour qu'il garde encore
Et, comme il fuit depuis l'aurore,
Si las de battre après le jour!

Or je ne reviendrai pas triste
Et solitaire sur ma piste
Ni n'ouvrirai les yeux sans voir
Que la lune, guidant ma course,
Sur le chemin comme une source
Divine, ruisselle, ce soir.

Axe et parallaxes, a work of 172 pages, reveals François Hertel to be a trinity in himself: priest by his symbols, poet after the order of Péguy and Claudel, metaphysician after the manner of—let us say, Gabriel Marcel. Here is the "verset Claudelien," modelled upon the Psalms, the hymns and litanies of the Church. Here is the Claudelian metaphor: language used as an instrument for creating things through words; God's work "recreated through the human word." To draw out all the parallels between Hertel

and Claudel one should study the "Note sur Claudel" in *Amérique française* for November. "Nul plus que lui n'aura tant humanisé Dieu"—except Hertel himself, whose work is "une sorte de caricature métaphysique" of Claudel's:

> Ce grand vieillard, austère et blanc, qui a suscité les choses,
> Je cherche à le définir dans un petit mot: l'Être.

Claudel, "ce créateur incorrigible, il a compris qu'il ne cherchait en somme qu'à singer Dieu." And Hertel:

> Je prendrai l'être et je le pétrirai
> J'imiterai Dieu.

Péguy is here:

> Et c'est Péguy qui l'aura le premier chantée,
> La Vierge positive, perpendiculaire.

Like all innovators, Hertel has written his "art poétique" or, as he calls it, axis:

> Je crois que la métaphysique et la poésie ne font qu'un.

John Donne, who used mathematical conceits and spoke of "eye-beams twisted," would have understood "Parallaxe d'une même étoile":

> O mon ciel boréal, qui contiens quelque part nos
> deux regards unis à quelque moment et désunis aussitôt.

But his metaphysics have a quality of their own, a Hertelian nature. Hertel manifests humility and simplicity of soul when he brings his metaphysics to the altar of the sacred mysteries. One thinks of the juggler of Notre-Dame who brought his unique skill, his juggling, and humbly offered it to the Virgin. Behind the façade of baroque wit there is a deep feeling and conviction, perhaps the most personal element in Hertel's poetry. It is a feeling of intimate communion with being, a sense of participation in the creative mystery, better still, an experience of intussusception, a sense of fusion with God. It is expressed most simply in sacramental language:

> Ainsi, n'as-tu point mangé Dieu, au départ, dans le pain. . . .

But it expresses itself in numerous images:

> Je porte en moi l'Infini. . . .
>
> Je veux vous tenir contre moi collé, comme ces deux pigeons l'un
> en l'autre fondus.

This poetry of liturgical metaphysics is the fine flower of a long

religious and intellectual tradition. Hertel is a perpendicular poet, Guy Sylvestre would say, one for whom poetry is a game, an escape toward the heights. The game is thrilling; but it would be a pity if it distracted us from the mystic experience which is its axis or, as we used to say, its soul.

Certain writers evince an historical, sociological, or biographical interest in the literary themes they treat: Marius Barbeau writes on "Pantagruel au Canada"; the same author, with the help of Pierre Daviault, fills a number of the *Journal of American Folk-lore* with Canadian folk-tales. Jean Bruchesi is an historian; one feels the precision and care of the historian in *Rappels*, but also the polish of the literary artist. His book is a call to order, a call to defend the faith, tradition, language, fatherland, menaced by modernism. Oscar Dunn, Mistral, Hémon, are, for M. Bruchesi, instructive lessons in patriotism. In his handbook, *Visages littéraires du Canada français*, Professor Antoine-Joseph Jobin, of the University of Michigan, presents the moral and physical portrait of French Canada as it appears in the work of her writers. Léopold Houlé's "Notre Théâtre et la critique" is a history of French-Canadian drama. This year, when Beauchemin have honoured Fréchette's memory by issuing a centenary edition of his *La Légende d'un peuple*, it is interesting to read M. Houlé's remarks on him as a dramatic poet. Fréchette was popularly regarded as the greatest dramatist in America. All the elegant society of the province flocked to the "première" of *Véronica*. It was whispered in the salons that Fréchette was going to trust the star role to Sarah Bernhardt. But the role was actually played by a certain Dame d'Arbely, whose interpretation did not satisfy the poet. Fréchette sent her a bouquet of flowers with this note: "A Madame d'Arbely, grande artiste quand elle veut." To which Véronica replied forthwith: "Remerciements à M. Fréchette, poète quand il peut." There are interesting remarks on Mauriac, Olivar Asselin and Albert Pelletier in a book of essays, *France Immortelle*, by Rex Desmarchais. Julia Richer has written on Alain Fournier, Jacques Rivière, and Isabelle Rivière. When we come to Guy Sylvestre we meet with altogether new standards in literary criticism. Every Saturday for a year or more a literary page, directed by Sylvestre, has appeared in the Ottawa newspaper, *Le Droit*. His studies of Montherlant, Henri de Régnier and Francis Viélé-Griffin reveal a sure critical grasp of these French

authors, a power of penetrating to the philosophical core of their thought, of reducing it to succinct definition, of evaluating and controlling it with the aid of religious values. What we have said of Charbonneau may be repeated here. With Sylvestre we emerge from the particularism of French-Canadian standards into a world of religious thought and feeling. What Sylvestre looks for is "communion intime des êtres," an experience in which a writer "s'engage profondément," realization of Being, which is Love. In his brochure, *Situation de la poésie canadienne*, he tells us that he loves to divide poets into two categories, horizontal and vertical: "J'appelle poète horizontal celui qui s'étend par tout le monde pour en prendre possession et le chanter, et poète vertical celui pour qui la poésie est surtout un jeu, une évasion vers le haut." All the Canadian poets, according to Sylvestre, are horizontal, except Saint-Denys Garneau and François Hertel. This definition of poetry as communion with God is in the order of Bremond's "pure" poetry but closer, we feel, to Gabriel Marcel's religious metaphysic, which is centred upon the doctrine of participation. In this order of experience the Saint is type and pattern. How far is a literary critic justified in demanding this transcendent experience? Absolutely, perhaps; for it is a test of life. But much depends on the critic. As long as it enables him to do the work of criticism, to probe into the nature of a writer's experience, the doctrine is a touchstone of inestimable value—provided, that is, it does not harden into a dogma.

M. Robert Rumilly has now published six volumes of his *Histoire de la province de Québec*. The titles read: I. *Georges-Etienne Cartier;* II. *Le "Coup d'état";* III. *Chapleau;* IV. *Les "Castors";* V. *Riel;* VI. *Les "Nationaux."* It is a straightforward narrative of political events and, until all the archives and private collections of correspondence are available, will remain a handy source of information. In *Les Canadiens français et leurs voisins du sud*, the seventeenth volume in the Canadian-American Relations series, M. Gustave Lanctot, Dominion archivist, writes the history of the French in Canada; M. Bruchesi, under secretary of state for the province, continues the history to 1867; M. Raymond Parent studies Anglo-French relations in the valley of the St. Lawrence; M. Benoît Brouillette, the role of French Canadians in the fur trade, explorations, and missions; and the abbé Georges Robitaille, the religious expansion of French Canadians in the

United States. There is more on the missionaries as explorers in two works by Oblate Fathers: *Quelques Figures de notre histoire*, by Paul-Henri Barabé, O.M.I., and *Batoche* by Jules Le Chevallier, O.M.I.,—the latter being a fully documented history of the missionaries of the North West during the troubles of 1885. One of these missionaries, Mgr Grandin, Bishop of St. Albert, founded missions on the Mackenzie River and even travelled within the Arctic circle in search of souls. Some six or seven years ago ten French-Canadian historians grouped themselves together in a sort of fraternity and called themselves "Les Dix." Each autumn since 1936 they have published a collection of historical studies in a series of "cahiers": *Les Cahiers des Dix*. The contents of the latest "cahier," which include a note on Ægidius Fauteux by Mgr Olivier Maurault, and one on the Abbé Etienne Chartier, by Francis-J. Audet, are recorded in the Lists of Publications (p. 510). M. Eugène Achard has written a number of historical narratives for children some of which—e.g., *Le Grand Chef de Stadaconé*, *Les Grands Noms de l'histoire canadienne*,—might make suitable high-school texts. A useful historical compilation is Frère Eloi-Gérard's *Recueil de généalogies des comtés de Charlevoix et Saguenay*. The author, who spent three years on this work, traces 1064 families back to their original ancestors. On December 29, 1941, the Sulpicians, or Prêtres de Saint-Sulpice, commemorated the tercentenary of their original Seminary of Saint-Sulpice, which was a wretched house in Vaugirard, a village near Paris. One of the original founders, Jean-Jacques Olier, came to Canada and helped in the settlement of Montreal. The tercentenary was celebrated with speeches, radio talks, and newspaper articles. After celebrating, in 1940, the fiftieth anniversary of their third arrival in Canada the Franciscans began, in 1941, the publication of a quarterly journal, *Chronique franciscaine du Canada*, which will extend its inquiries into the distant past of the Order as well as into its present activities. With regard to the latter no review of Canadian scholarship would be complete without an account of the labours of such scholars as Ephrem Longpré, "Prince des Scotistes contemporains," Athanase Ledoux, Hugolin Lemay, Damase Laberge, Albert O'Neill, Léonard-Marie Puech and Patrice Robert.

The best of the biographies—all of religious figures—published in 1941 was Sr. M.-Amadeus Welton's *Mgr Paul-Eugène Roy*, a

thesis offered for the doctorate at Laval. It is a study of the Archbishop of Quebec whose life was, in a great measure, associated with the work of the Action sociale catholique. Developing out of the Société d'Economique sociale et politique de Québec, which was founded by the abbé Lortie for the purpose of studying Canadian politics after the principles of Le Play, its programme, *Instaurare omnia in Christo*, covers all fields of social, intellectual, racial, and religious endeavour.

Bio-bibliographies are the order of the day. Frère Ludovic's *Bio-bibliographie de Mgr Camille Roy* lists the publications of the Rector of Laval over a period of forty years. Such compilations, besides bringing to light the extent of an author's work, make possible an exact account of our literary heritage.

There is only one travel book this year—unless we include under this rubric Alain Grandbois's *Les Voyages de Marco Polo. L'Ame japonaise* is a book, illustrated with beautiful photographs, by an ardent nationalist and admirer of the Nipponese, M. Léo-Paul Bourassa. While borrowing from the Western nations all that has made them strong, Japan, according to the author, has preserved the essentials of her ancient civilization and faces the future conscious of her superiority, confident that she will dominate the world and impose her culture upon it. This makes strange reading in the spring of 1942.

Among the remaining material we may mention M. Gérard Morisset's *Coup d'œil sur les arts en Nouvelle-France*, which is a useful review of the French-Canadian art found in museums, churches, and public buildings. We regret that the author did not say more about contemporary art, especially the great names of the Montreal School: Morice, Fortin, and Pellan. *Traduction*, a dictionary compiled by Professor Pierre Daviault, should be of great service to professional translators and to others wishing to trace Anglicisms in the French spoken in the province. A work of similar nature is *Le Bois*. It is one of a number of enterprises undertaken by the Association française de normalisation with the object of standardizing the technical terms used in industry. M. Roger Vézina, in his study of *La Monnaie et le crédit*, urges that those in charge of Canada's destinies should place money at the service of our economy and prices, and not prices and economy at the service of money.

In concluding this survey we should like to express our appreciation of the excellent work done by the publishing houses of the province, especially that of Bernard Valiquette, of Montreal.

VI. NEW-CANADIAN LETTERS — Watson Kirkconnell

The active part that the New-Canadian communities have played in Canada's war effort during 1941 has been reflected in vigorous and patriotic journalism in their foreign-language press. In these periodicals, reaching a million and a half readers weekly, there is no hint of the vitriolic partisanship seen in many Anglo-Canadian journals nor of the anti-British sentiment of some sections of the French-Canadian press. The only malcontents were to be found among the Leftist papers, and since the U.S.S.R. was forced into the War, in June, 1941, these journals (nearly all printed under one roof in Toronto) have become vehemently pro-war.

In the field of *belles-lettres*, however, the activities of war have led to a marked curtailment of book publication. While there is an actual increase in the amount of fugitive verse and fiction carried by the newspapers, the communities seem too busy to write or publish longer works. Only in Ukrainian have any books appeared, viz., *Miy Sad* ("My Garden") by Mykyta Ivanovich Mandryka, and an *Anthology of Ukrainian Literature in Canada*, issued by the Canadian-Ukrainian Educational Association, Winnipeg. Dr. Mandryka is an *émigré*, a graduate of Kiev, Sofia, and Prague universities, and has lived in Canada since 1928. *Miy Sad* is a collection of some seventy-five brief poems, chiefly lyrical, with dates of composition ranging all the way from 1905 to 1936. Among the earliest specimens is one on the death of Parnell, in which the poet expresses sympathy for

> Far Ireland, that land of pain,
> Sad sister to my own Ukraine.

A poignant sense of past happiness broods over some of his pictures of the Dnieper and the Dnieper Hills; but his most moving lyrics come from the period of the struggle for Ukrainian nationhood in 1918-19:

> O living Lord, our Mother lives:
> Death can no longer hide her.
> Behold her sons like eagles come
> To take their stand beside her.

Only two brief lyrics, both dated 1936, have been composed since he became a Canadian. His gloomy "Finale" may be rendered:

> The sun is ashes to the last dull spark.
> Torn from the book of life, it joins the dark—
> Infinite blackness, symbol of non-being,
> Like a dead ocean, silent and unseeing.
>
> Earth passes, with its murmuring woods and plains;
> Of the sea's surging music naught remains;
> And the heart's symphony of friend and friend
> Dies as the curtain falls. This is the end.

The *Anthology of Ukrainian Literature in Canada* was long overdue, for there has hitherto been no volume giving, in the original Ukrainian, representative specimens from the work of the more important writers. This was admirably done for the Icelandic-Canadians in *Vestan um Haf* (1930), a large demy octavo volume of 736 pages or more than ten times the contents of the present little sixteenmo Ukrainian collection, which represents some eighteen poets by 68 brief poems and three prose-writers by 11 scant pages of quotation. Inadequate though the anthology is, we should be grateful for what it gives us, especially as relatively full biographical and bibliographical notes are supplied for each author and in most cases a photograph is also provided. The poets in the collection are Theodore Fedyk, Simeon Kowbel, Honoré Ewach, Dmytro Hunkievich, Michael Kumka, Ivan Pavchuk, Ivan Novosad, Anna Pruska, Maria Adamovska, Katrya Novosad, Stepan M. Doroshchuk, Michael Krepiakevich, Vasyl Tulewitrow, Mykyta I Mandryka, Andriy Gospodyn, Taras Volokhatiuk, Tetyana Kroitor, and Myroslava Lazeczko. In such a roster, there are serious omissions, e.g. "Myroslav Ichnyansky" (Ivan Kmeta), whose *Lira Emigranta* (Winnipeg, 1936) won favourable opinions in European journals. Other names that come to mind are those of Vasyl Babiyenko, Peter B. Chaykovsky, Paul Crath, Ivan J. Danylchuk, Taras Dmytrenko, Vasyl Holovatsky, Elias Kiriak, Vasyl Kudryk, Viktor and Volodymyr Kupchenko, Dmytro Raragovsky, Joseph Sayek, S. W. Sawchuk, and Joseph Yasenchuk. As for prose fiction, extracts by Dmytro Sollanych, Honoré Ewach, Ivan Kmeta, Tetyana Kroitor, and Simeon Kowbel ought certainly to be added to those of Apolinar Novak, Gergory Skehar, and Michael Petrowsky. It is to be hoped that a greatly expanded second edition will soon be called

for, and that it will give special prominence to prose and verse expressive of the Ukrainian achievement on Canadian soil. The Canadian-Ukrainian Educational Association deserves warm encouragement in its new enterprise.

In the realm of prose fiction, the most active writer of the past year has been the Mennonite farmer, Peter J. Klassen, with two readable serials and a number of short stories to his credit in the German-language press, along with still more instalments of his reminiscences of Mennonite woes in Russia. Simeon Kowbel has published a worthy series of short stories in the Ukrainian *Novy Shlyakh*, while Pantelemon Bozhyk has published an extensive though somewhat slipshod narrative, *Fellow-villagers in Canada*, serially in *Ukrayinsky Visty*.

The only published dramas have also been in Ukrainian. The best example is Vasyl Tulewitrow's tragedy of revolutionary Russia, *Such Was his Fate*.

Press articles on current affairs have been especially cogent in war-time, not least because the tides of battle have washed up in the Canadian communities many effective eye-witnesses of the European scene. The only considerable book-publication in this field is Dr Wiktor Rosiński's *Nowa Polska* ("The New Poland"). This vigorous exercise in post-war planning is typical of contemporary Polish thought. Dr Rosiński would abolish the "Corridor" problem by giving Poland a Baltic coastline from Stettin to Memel; and he would settle the Silesian question by taking the whole of Silesia. This would give Poland, on the north and west, a *Lebensraum* proportioned to a pre-war birth-rate vastly in excess of Germany's, and likewise a territory better designed as an economic unit. Unwilling German elements in the area would be transferred, but without the fiendish cruelty of the Nazi deportations of 1939-42. Dr Rosiński has in mind, of course, what the Anglo-Saxon world usually forgets, viz., that the western boundaries of Poland as drawn in 1918-19 still left in German hands very large areas that had been stolen from Poland by Prussia in the partitions of the eighteenth century; and while he goes even beyond Poland's historic limits, his mood is quite understandable. When one turns to the east, however, one might feel more dubious as to Dr Rosiński's prescription, for to the territories of 1920-39 he would add Bukovina (never Polish) and extensive White Russian areas including Dvinsk and Minsk. His last chapter, on "the mission

of Poland to-day," succeeds, however, in throwing new light on this matter. Keeping in view as his ideal the political freedom of all the peoples of East Central Europe, he urges the collaboration of the Poles, the Czechs, the Ukrainians and the Baltic nationalities, in order to achieve a strong democratic new order situated between Germany and Russia. In this co-operative enterprise, Poland should take a bold and sacrificial part. One gathers that Dr Rosiński would go more than half way to meet Ukrainian nationalism, if the latter were prepared to lay aside its ancient bitterness.

LISTS OF PUBLICATIONS: FRENCH-CANADIAN[1]

I. SELECTED PERIODICALS AND SERIALS

(*Supplement to list printed in "Letters in Canada, 1940"*)

Amérique Française, Montréal, 546 ave. Bloomfield [10 issues; 1941+; eds. Roger Rolland, Pierre Baillargeon; poetry, essays, reviews]. **Bulletin des Etudes Françaises,** Montréal, Collège Stanislas [6 issues; 1941+; articles by French and French Canadians on French culture]. **Cahiers d'Action Catholique,** Montréal, 430 est rue Sherbrooke [Centrale de la J.E.C.; monthly; 1940+; articles on education and religion]. **Chronique Franciscaine du Canada,** Montréal, Imprimerie des Franciscains, 2010 ouest rue Dorchester [quarterly; 1941+; ed. Archange Godbout; history of the Franciscans in Canada]. **La Nouvelle Relève,** Montréal, 340 ave. Kensington [10 issues; 1941+; in succession to *La Relève*; ed. Claude Hurtubise; poetry, essays, reviews]. **Orientation,** Montréal, Institut Canadien d'Orientation professionnelle [monthly(?); 1941+; articles on education and vocational guidance]. **Relations,** Montréal, 1961 est rue Rachel [Ecole sociale populaire; monthly; 1941+; eds. J.-P. Archambault, J.-H. Ledit, J. Cousineau; religion, contemporary comment, reviews].

II. CULTURAL AND LITERARY HISTORY OF CANADA

A. Selected Works of Reference, and Bibliographies

Almanach du peuple Beauchemin, 72e année (Montréal, Edns. Beauchemin, 480 pp., 25c.). **Annuaire de la publicité et de l'imprimerie, 1940:** revue annuelle de l'activité canadienne française dans les domaines de la presse, de la radio, de la publicité, de l'imprimerie et des arts graphiques (Ottawa, Edns. du Droit, 1940, 207 pp., $1.00). **Annuaire statistique, 1940** (Québec, Impr. de Sa Majesté le Roi, xxxiv, 444 pp.). **Bibliothèques et musées, 1938** (Québec, Bureau des statistiques, Impr. de Sa Majesté le Roi, [iv], 73 pp., 25c.). **Culture,** Bibliographies (119*-62*, 163*-202*, 203*-30*, 231*-66*). **Laurent (Edouard)** and **Laurent (Laval),** Essai bibliographique autour de "Rerum Novarum" (Québec, Edns. de *Culture*, [xviii], 86 pp.). **Ludovic (Frère),** Bio-bibliographie de Mgr Camille Roy, P.A., V.G.; préface d'Ægidius Fauteux (Québec, Procure des Frères des Ecoles Chrétiennes, 183 pp., $1.00; revd. *CFran.* nov.; *Culture* sept.; *RD* oct.). **University of Toronto Quarterly,** Letters in Canada, 1940, ed. A. S. P. Woodhouse: [Felix Walter, French-Canadian Letters; Lists of Publications]; (April 305-17, 383-95).

François-Albert Angers, Statistiques vitales 1938 (*Actualité économique* fév. 371-6). Carnets Viatoriens, Table alphabétique des cinq premières années (1936-1941) (*CarnetsV* janv. 8pp. [insert]).

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[1]These lists were prepared in the Editorial Office of the University of Toronto Press, by Miss Merle Storey. The numbering corresponds to that of the English-Canadian Lists; subsections where there is nothing to report are silently omitted.

All references in the lists are to 1941 except when another date is given. Following many of the items listed, attention is drawn to more extended reviews in other periodicals. An asterisk marks the names of authors whom we believe not to be Canadians.

The following abbreviations have been used: *AN—Action nationale; AU—Action universitaire; AF—Amérique française; BRH—Bulletin des Recherches historiques; CFran.—Canada français;* C—Canadian; *CHR—Canadian Historical Review; CarnetsV—Carnets viatoriens; ES—Enseignement secondaire; Mém. SRC—Mémoires, Société royale du Canada; NRelève—La Nouvelle Relève; RD—Revue dominicaine; RTC—Revue trimestrielle canadienne; RUO—Revue de l'Université d'Ottawa; SN—Saturday Night; UTQ—University of Toronto Quarterly.*

B. Selected Studies in Historical and Contemporary Background

Arès (Richard), Nos positions françaises au Manitoba (Saint-Boniface, Man., Le Collège, 88 pp., 15c.). **Bruchesi (Jean)**, Rappels [essays] (Montréal, Bernard Valiquette, 233 pp., $1.00; revd. *AU* janv.; *Culture* déc.; *Relations*, fév.). **Desmarchais (Rex)**, France immortelle: essais (Montréal, Aux Edns. Libres, 311 pp., $1.00; revd. *NRelève* sept.). **Elliott (Sophy L.)**, The women pioneers of North America (Gardenvale, Que., Garden City Press, xviii, 302 pp.). **Holmes (Charles)**, L'antibritannisme de l'unilinguisme: version française de la causerie donnée au Rotary Club de Québec en mars 1941 (Montréal, Edns. Bernard Valiquette, 32 pp., 15c.). **Lieff (Pearl J.)**, The urbanization of the French-Canadian parish (typescript thesis for the M.A. degree; Montreal, McGill University, Dept. of Sociology, 1940). **Maheux (Arthur)**, Ton histoire est une épopée: I, Nos débuts sous le régime anglais (Québec, chez l'auteur, au Séminaire, 213 pp., $1.00; revd. *CFran.* juin; *CHR* Dec.; *Le Jour* 14 juin; *RD* déc.; *SN* July 19; Toronto *Star* July 12). **Montpetit (Édouard)**, Reflets d'Amérique (Montréal, Edns. Bernard Valiquette, 255 pp., $1.00; revd. *AU* mai; *CFran.* juin; *CHR* Dec.; *Carnets V* juillet; *Culture* sept.; *RD* sept.; *RUO* oct.-déc.). **Percival (W. P.)**, The lure of Quebec; foreword by William Wood (Toronto, Ryerson Press, xx, 216 pp., $2.50). **Réalisations canadiennes-françaises:** série de cinq causeries irradées au poste CKY, Winnipeg, sous les auspices de l'Université du Manitoba (Winnipeg, University of Manitoba, 23pp.; contains: Marius Benoist, La musique au Canada français; Martial Caron, Le Catholicisme de la vie du Canada français; Donatien Frémont, La littérature canadienne-française; A. R. M. Lower, French Canada and the world of business; W. F. Osborne, L'œuvre maîtresse de la race franco-canadienne).

Action Nationale: articles on French-Canadian culture by André Laurendeau, Albert Pelletier, Gabriel-M. Lussier, Léon Lortie, Ch. Thivierge, anon., anon., J. Cousineau, Léo-Paul Desrosiers (XVII 39-45, 134-9, 310-15, 316-21, 367-85, 397-405; XVIII 46-54, 135-40, 147-50). J.-B. Brebner, Soyons nous-mêmes? (*CFran.* déc. 253-60). Marcel Cadieux and Paul Tremblay, Le dualisme canadien (*RTC* mars 63-75). Maximilien Caron, Les institutions politiques (*Actualité économique* déc. 138-55). Alexandre Dugré, Autour de l'Acte d'Union, 1841-1941 (*Relations* déc. 324-6). Léon-Mercier Gouin, L'idéal patriotique d'Honoré Mercier (*RUO* avril-juin 159-75). Lionel Groulx, L'expédition du Chevalier de Troyes, en 1686, à la baie d'Hudson (*AN* XVII 275-86); La fondation de Ville-Marie (*AN* déc. 301-9). Gustave Lanctot, L'Acadie et la Nouvelle-Angleterre 1603-1763 (*RUO* avril-juin, juillet-sept., 182-205, 349-70); Perspectives économiques et militaires de la guerre de Sept Ans au Canada (*Culture* mars 29-40). Pierre-Paul Langis, Le Canada, monarchie constitutionnelle en union personnelle avec les autres membres du commonwealth (*RTC* sept. 299-310). *Burton LeDoux, Le Canada français jugé par l'oncle Sam (*AN* juin 522-33); French Canada, a modern feudal state (*Virginia Quarterly Review* spring 206-22). Gabriel-M. Lussier, Culture canadienne-française (*Regards* II 97-107). Arthur Maheux, Les employés français de James Murray (*CFran.* avril 765-76); Jours tragiques de 1759 (*CFran.* fév. 589-99); Sur la nomination de deux évêques, Laval et Briand (*CFran.* mars 674-89). B. K. Sandwell, My brother Jean Baptiste (*SN* Jan. 18, 10). Georges Simard, Notre credo national (*RUO* avril-juin 137-58). Raymond Tanghe, Le facteur humain (*Actualité économique* déc. 101-18). Laurent Tremblay, La confiance en nous-mêmes (*RUO* janv.-mars 20-41).

C. History and Criticism of Canadian Literature and Speech

(a) General and Miscellaneous

Chartier (Emile), La vie de l'esprit au Canada français, 1760-1925 (Montréal, Edns. Bernard Valiquette, 355 pp., $1.25; revd. *AU* mai; *CFran.* juin; *CHR* Sept.; *Relations* juin; *RD* nov.; *RUO* janv.-mars 1942). **Francœur (Louis)** and **Panneton (Philippe)**, Littératures . . . à la manière de [new ed.;

orig. pubd. 1924] (Montréal, Edns. Variétés, 120 pp., 50c.; revd. *Relations* déc.), ***Jobin (Antoine-Joseph)**, Visages littéraires du Canada français (Montréal, Edns. du Zodiaque, 271 pp., $1.00; revd. *Le Jour* 13 déc.). **Orlier (Blaise)**, *see* SYLVESTRE (GUY). **Sylvestre (Guy)** (Blaise Orlier, *pseud.*), Louis Francœur, journaliste (Ottawa, Edns. du *Droit*, 32pp., 15c.; revd. *CarnetsV* oct.).

FRANÇOIS-ALBERT ANGERS, L'art de déplacer les questions (*AN* XVII 3-24). ANON., Hommage à Louis Francœur (*Regards* II 193-223). EMILE BÉGIN, Garneau et le romantisme (*CFran.* oct. 127-34). HARRY BERNARD, Souvenirs sur Louis Francœur (*CFran.* oct. 81-9). DOLLARD DANSEREAU, Olivar Asselin, journaliste (*Regards* II 67-70). JEAN-PIERRE DESPRÉS, Olivar Asselin, économiste (*Regards* II 63-6). JOSEPH DONNAY, La grande source de nos anglicismes (*CFran.* déc. 286-98). M.-CESLAS FOREST, A la mémoire de Louis Francœur (*RD* juillet-août 51-2). DONATIEN FRÉMONT, La littérature canadienne-française (*Réalisations canadiennes-françaises, see* II B), JEAN-LOUIS GAGNON, Olivar Asselin, candidat (*Regards* II 71-6). RENÉ GARNEAU, Notes sur Olivar Asselin (*Regards* II 81-4). CLAIRE GAUTHIER Le parler des Canadiens français (*CFran.* sept. 44-9). ARCHANGE GODBOUT, La liste chronologique de l'abbé Noiseux: une mystification historique (*Culture* mars 13-28). [CLAUDE-HENRI GRIGNON] (VALDOMBRE *pseud.*), Louis Francœur toujours vivant (*Pamphlets de Valdombre* avril-mai 347-415). LÉOPOLD HOULÉ, Verbomanie et linguistique (*RD* déc. 249-52). BRUNO LAFLEUR, Au temps de l'*Ordre* (*Regards* II 77-80). GABRIEL-M. LUSSIER, Tête et cœur de chevalier [Olivar Asselin] (*Regards* II 56-62). MARÉCHAL NANTEL, Autour d'une décision judiciaire sur la langue française en Canada (*Cahiers des Dix* 145-65). UBALD PAQUIN, Valdombre, souvenirs littéraires (*Revue populaire* oct. 62, 66). ALBERT PELLETIER, Le nationalisme d'Olivar Asselin (*Regards* II 50-5). PHILIPPE PERRIER, La puissance de la presse et sa mission (*L'Œuvre des tracts, see* VI D). MAURICE PÉRUSSE, Joseph Bouchette et son œuvre [*Description topographique de la Province du Bas-Canada*] (*Actualité économique* août-sept. 354-64). ROBERT PICARD, Notre problème bilingue (*Relations* janv. 6-8). ADRIEN PLOUFFE, L'après-dernière "Situation, ce soir": hommage d'un ami [Louis Francœur] (*Revue populaire* juillet 6). LÉON POULIOT, Le dernier ouvrage de M. Séraphin Marion [*Les lettres canadiennes d'autrefois*, tome II] (*RUO* janv.-mars 100-4). EDMOND TURCOTTE, Asselin nature (*Revue moderne* avril). FELIX WALTER, French-Canadian letters, in letters in Canada (*UTQ* April 305-17).

(b) Poetry

McNamara (Mary F. C.), L'histoire dans la poésie canadienne-française de 1860-1900 (typescript thesis for the M.A. degree; Montreal, McGill University, Dept. of French Language and Literature, 1940). **Sylvestre (Guy)**, Situation de la poésie canadienne (Ottawa, Edns. du *Droit*, 34pp.; revd. *NRelève* sept.; *Relations* oct.; *RUO* janv.-mars 1942).

ANDRÉ DAGENAIS, [Jeannine Bélanger's] *Stances à l'éternel absent* (*AN* sept. 70). J. M. GIBBON, Folksongs of French Canadians (*Think* VII, 59, 80). GUSTAVE LAMARCHE, Fusées de Phébus dans notre ciel (Hertel, Lasnier, Bélanger) (*CarnetsV* juillet 165-72). GUY SYLVESTRE, Saint-Denys Garneau (*CarnetsV* avril 106-10).

(d) Drama and Theatre

ROGER BAULU, Idiosyncrasies de nos auteurs radiophoniques (*RD* sept. 80-5). GILLES CORBEIL, [Le père Barjon's] *Jeu de Nostre-Dame* (*AF* nov. 42-3). LÉOPOLD HOULÉ, Notre théâtre et la critique (*Mém. SRC* sect. I, 77-90). ANDRÉ LAURENDEAU, A propos de cinéma et de radio (*RD* avril 186-90); Sur trois écrivains de la radio [Valdombre, Robert Choquette, Jovette] (*RD* mai 255-60). PARABOLIER (*pseud.*), [Gustave Lamarche's] *Jonathas* revient à la scène (*CarnetsV* avril 120-2). ERNEST TREMBLAY, Elzéar Roy, animateur du théâtre français au Canada (*Revue populaire* juin '65, 69-70).

D. Selected Publications in Arts and Crafts in Canada

Barbeau (Marius), Henri Julien (*see* English Lists). **Morisset (Gérard)**, Coup d'œil sur les arts en Nouvelle-France; ouvrage orné de 32 gravures (Québec, Charrier et Dugal, xi, 171 pp., $1.00; revd. *CFran.* sept.; *Le Jour* 20 déc.).

Anon., Architecture XVIIe (*Revue populaire* juillet 10, 68); Pellan (*Revue populaire* janv. 6-7). Marius Barbeau, Arts et métiers (*RTC* déc. 385-91); Backgrounds in Canadian art (*Trans. Royal Society of Canada*, sect. 2, 29-39); Déclin de la culture canadienne (*AN* XVII 125-34); Images de l'Ottawa par Henri Masson (*Culture* mars 63-6); Nos bâtisseurs (*CFran.* nov. 169-74); Notre tradition, que devient-elle? (*Culture* mars 3-12); Potiers canadiens (*Mém. SRC*, sect. I, 13-21); Potiers canadiens (*RTC* sept. 252-70); Types de maisons canadiennes (*CFran.* sept. 35-43). Maurice Baudoux, Les Canadiens français de l'Ouest et la Radio-Etat (*Relations* fév. 44-5). Marius Benoist, La musique au Canada français (*Réalisations canadiennes-françaises*, *see* II B). M.-A. Couturier, Recommencements d'art sacré au Canada (*RD* mars 141-6). Gérald Danis, Où va la musique canadienne? Georges-Emile Tanguay, Jean Beaudet, Arthur Letondal, Claude Champagne (*Revue populaire* sept., oct., nov., déc.). Ernest Gagnon, L'exposition de la montagne (*Relations* juillet 190-1). Jean-Marie Gauvreau, Bois du Québec et décoration intérieure (*Technique* mai 331). Henri Hébert, Le monument et sa raison d'être (Royal Architectural Institute of Canada, *Journal* April 64-5). Léopold Houlé, La radio et le mouvement culturel (*Culture* sept. 319-23). Jean-Paul Lemieux, Notes sur l'art à Québec (*Regards* nov. 80-4). John Lyman, Art populaire (*RD* juillet-août 39-43). E.-Z. Massicotte, L'artiste James Duncan (*Canadiana* fév.-mars 9-11). Olivier Maurault, Les architectes (Royal Architectural Institute of Canada, *Journal* April 61); Les peintres de la Montée Saint-Michel (*Cahiers des Dix* 49-65). Aimé Plamondon, Arthur Le Blanc: enfant prodige, artiste prodigieux (*Revue populaire* août 7, 56). *W. S. Rusk, The influence of Norman architecture in French Canada (*Bulletin de l'Institut français de Washington* déc. 1940, 11-20). Jacques G. de Tonnancour, Alfred Pellan, propos sur un sorcier (*Amérique française* déc. 13-22); Sur Goodridge Roberts, un peintre authentique (*La Relève* avril 216-21). Ramsay Traquair, The church of St. John the Baptist at St. Jean Port Joli, Quebec (Royal Architectural Institute of Canada, *Journal* Feb. 1939, 26-34). Emile Venne, Ecole des Beaux-Arts de Montréal (Royal Architectural Institute of Canada, *Journal* Feb. 17-19).

E. Texts, Critical Editions, and Collections

Barbeau (Marius), Aux armes, Canadiens! [collection of songs]; illustrations par Arthur Lismer; lettrage de Joseph-Ovila Fortin (Ottawa, Hutte Canadienne des Chevaliers de Colomb, 40 pp.). **Fréchette (Louis)**, La légende d'un peuple: poésies choisies; préface de Jules Claretie; illustrations de Henri Julien (première série; éd. du centenaire; Montréal, Edns. Beauchemin, 234 pp.).

Marius Barbeau and Pierre Daviault, Contes populaires canadiens (septième série) (*Journal of American Folk-lore* April-Sept., 1940, 89-100). [Jean Dolbeau], Le père Jean Dolbeau, récollet: missionnaire en Nouvelle-France, 1615-1620 [letters ed. with anon. introd. and biog.] (*Chronique franciscaine du Canada* déc. 167-236).

III. POETRY

Bélanger (Jeannine), Stances à l'éternel absent, 1935-1940 (Hull, Qué., Edns. "L'Eclair," 155 pp., $1.00; revd. *Culture* déc.; *NRelève* sept.; *Relations* sept.; *RD* juin; *RUO* oct.-déc.); Le visage dans la roche ([Ottawa], Impr. Leclerc, 15 pp.). **Boucher (Gédéon)**, Gazouillis (Saint-Jean, Qué., Edns. du Richelieu; Montréal, Edns. Beauchemin, 1940, 159 pp., 85c. revd. *CarnetsV* avril). **Dubé (Rodolphe)** (François Hertel *pseud.*), Axe et parallaxes (Montréal, Edns.

Variétés, 172 pp., 75c; revd. *AU* fév.; *CarnetsV* avril; *NRelève* oct.; *Relations* oct.; *RD* oct.). **Hertel (François)**, *see* DUBÉ (RODOLPHE). **Paquette (A.)**, Vae victis! "malheur à Hitler!" (n.p., n.d., [16 pp.], 15c.).

Poems by the following selected writers have appeared: Pierre Baillargeon (*AF* nov.; *La Relève* avril), Robert Choquette (*AF* déc.), Albert Ferland (*Mém. SRC*), Odette Marie des Neiges Fortin (*Dans le calme des soirs*, *see* VI B), Guillaume Geoffrion (*AF* nov.), Anne Hébert (*La Relève* mars), Maurice Hébert (*Mém. SRC*), Gilles Hénault (*NRelève* oct.), Rodolphe Dubé (François Hertel *pseud.*) (*La Relève* juin), Joseph Hilaire (*CarnetsV* juillet), Rina Lasnier (*CarnetsV* oct.), Gabriel-M. Lussier (*La Relève* janv.), François Seurel (*CarnetsV* janv.), Maurice Tremblay (*RD* nov.).

IV. FICTION

A. Novels, Serials, etc.

Achard (Eugène), Le grand chef de Stadaconé: roman historique canadien (Montréal, Libr. Générale canadienne; Québec, Action catholique, 123 pp., 25c.). **Beaupray (Charles-H.)**, Les beaux jours viendront (Québec, Edns. des Presses sociales, 241 pp., 90c; revd. *Actualité économique* janv., 1942; *CFran.* déc.; *Relations* mars 1942). **Bellefontaine (Maria de)**, Un amour (Montréal, [Edns. Bernard Valiquette], 95 pp.; revd. *Relations* sept.; *RD* nov.). **Benoit (Marc)**, Les aiguillons (Montréal, Edns. de l'A. C.-F., 124 pp., $1.00). **Bonenfant (Marie)**, Canadiennes d'hier (lettres familières) (Montréal, Edns. Bernard Valiquette, 221 pp., $1.00; revd. *AU* nov.; *CarnetsV* oct.). **Charbonneau (Robert)**, Ils posséderont la terre (Le serpent d'Airian, 2; Montréal, Edns. de l'Arbre, 221 pp., $1.25; revd. *AU* janv., 1942; *Le Jour* 6 déc.). **Choquette (Robert)**, Les Velder (Montréal, Edns. Bernard Valiquette, 190 pp.; revd. *AU* oct.; *Le Jour* 6 sept., 11 oct.; *Relations* déc.). **Desrosiers (Léo-Paul)**, Les opiniâtres (Montréal, Impr. Populaire, 222pp., $1.00; revd. *CFran.* déc.; *Culture* sept.; *NRelève* sept.; *Relations* juillet; *RD* juillet-août). **Filion (Laetitia)**, L'espion de l'Ile-aux-Coudres (Beauceville, Qué., L'Eclaireur Ltée., 173pp.; revd. *Le Jour* 25 janv. 1942). **Glauser (Alfred)**, Le vent se lève (Montréal, Edns. Bernard Valiquette, 222pp.; revd. *Le Jour* 28 fév., 1942; *Relations* mars 1942). **Le Normand (Michelle)**, La maison aux phlox (Ottawa, Impr. Populaire, 214pp., $1.00; revd. *CFran.* avril; *Culture* sept.; *La Relève* juin; *RD* avril). **Maxine** (*pseud.*), Miche: un petit gars de Coutances (Montréal, Edns. Beauchemin, 157 pp.). **Melançon (Claude)**, Par terre et par eau (ed. 2; Hull, Qué., Edns. "L'Eclair," 1940, 189 pp.). **Pays Gleba,** *see* PRÉVOST (ARTHUR). **Pion (J.-Wilfrid)**, La "championne": roman de mœurs canadiennes (Montréal, Edns. Modèles, 271 pp., $1.25). **Plourde (A.-B.)**, L'amour et l'épreuve (Montréal, Edns. Bernard Valiquette, 1940, 105 pp., revd. *AU* avril; *RD* sept.). **Prévost (Arthur)** (Pays Gleba *pseud.*), La lignée: essai sur une historiette paysanne (Sorel, Qué., Edns. Princeps, 72pp., 85c; revd. *Le Jour* 19 fév., 1942). **Rivereine (Lucien)**, Sur le double ruban d'acier: aventures dans l'ouest canadien sur le chemin de fer du Pacifique canadien (Montréal, Libr. Générale canadienne; Québec, Action catholique, 141 pp., 40c.).

B. Selected Short Stories

Short stories by the following selected writers have appeared: Réal Benoît (*Regards* nov.), Roger Brien (*Revue populaire* déc.), Léo Dartey (*ibid.* déc.), Pierre Dhaël (*ibid.* juillet), Charles Foley (*ibid.* oct.), Lidone (*ibid.* juin), Magali (*ibid.* mars, mai, août), Roger Regis (*Revue moderne* janv.), Françoise Roland (*Revue populaire* fév.), Claude Surlande (*ibid.* nov.), Annie Savern (*ibid.* sept.).

V. DRAMA

A. Published Plays

Anon., Au temps de Kateri (tract no 25; Montréal, La Ligue missionnaire des étudiants, 16pp., 5c.). **Lamarche (Gustave)**, Les progrès de l'éducation moderne: jeu choral pour une journée apostolique féminine, donné à Joliette par

la section féminine des Paraboliers du Roi le 29 juin 1941 (Joliette, Qué., Edns. des Paraboliers du Roi, 31pp., polygraphié [out of print]). **Lasnier (Rina)**, Le jeu de la voyagère (Montréal, Société des Ecrivains canadiens, 137 pp., revd. Montreal *Gazette* Jan. 31, 1942). **Pâquet (André)**, Escapades; Célébrons Ville-Marie (tracts nos 24, 28; Montréal, La Ligue missionnaire des étudiants, 16pp. each, 5c. each).

RODOLPHE DUBÉ (FRANÇOIS HERTEL *pseud.*), Notre Dame des Laurentides (*Axe et Parallaxes, see* III).

B. Selected List of Plays Produced

LE PÈRE BARJON, Jeu de Nostre-Dame (Compagnons de Saint-Laurent). CLAUDE-HENRI GRIGNON, Le deserteur (Radio-Canada); Un homme et son péché (Radio-Canada). GUSTAVE LAMARCHE, Les enfants jettent l'outrage . . . : drame en un acte, en vers (Joliette, Qué.).

VI. MISCELLANEOUS PROSE

A. Biography and Autobiography

Achard (Eugène), Le corsaire de la baie d'Hudson: exploits d'Iberville (Montréal, Libr. Générale canadienne; Québec, Action catholique, 62 pp., 15c.); Les grands noms de l'histoire canadienne (Montréal, Libr. Générale canadienne; Québec, Action catholique, 62 pp., 15c.). **Albert (le R.P.)**, Mgr Louis-Joseph-Arthur Melanson, premier archevêque de Moncton; lettre-préface de Mgr P.-A. Chiasson ([Montréal], *Annales de Notre Dame de l'Assomption*, numéro spécial, 14e année, no 6, 186 pp.). **Barabé (Paul-Henri)**, Quelques figures de notre histoire (ed. 2; Hull, Qué., Edns. "l'Eclair"; Ottawa, Edns. de l'Université, 155 pp., 75c.; revd. *Culture* sept.; *RD* juin). **Beaulac (Aldéric)**, Toute la messe: par questions et réponses (Montréal, Edns. Fides, 125 pp.). **Bouhier (Louis)**, Une mystique canadienne: vie extraordinaire de Madame Brault, 1856-1910, ses lettres (ed. 2; Montréal, Edns. Beauchemin, 336pp., $1.25). **Boyer (O. A.)**, Couronnée d'épines: Marie-Rose Ferron (1902-1936), surnommée "la petite Rose," la stigmatisée de Woonsocket, R.I. (trans. into French by LÉONARD-M. PUECH; Montréal, 959 rue Côté, 234pp., $1.00). **Ferland-Angers (Albertine)**, Pierre You et son fils François d'Youville (Montréal, Thérien Frères, 24pp., 25c.). **Gagnon (Blanche)**, Etude d'âme: Gérard Raymond (Montréal, Edns. de l'A. C. J. C., 16 pp., 10c.). **Joyal (Arthur)**, Mgr F.-X. Cloutier, prophète de Notre-Dame du Cap (Trois-Rivières, Impr. Saint-Joseph, 1940, 64pp.; revd. *RUO* avril-juin). **Marie-Gildas**, Mgr M.-F. Richard, prélat domestique: sa vie et ses œuvres (Moncton, N.B., Impr. Nationale, 1940, 160pp.). **Marie-Rollande (Sœur)**, Mère Marie-Angèle, deuxième supérieure générale des Sœurs de Sainte-Anne 1828-1898 (collection Sainte-Anne; Lachine, Qué., Impr. des Sœurs de Sainte-Anne, 251 pp.); Mère Marie-Elise, religieuse de Sainte-Anne, préfète générale des études, 1860-1933 (collection Sainte-Anne; Lachine, Qué., Impr. des Sœurs de Sainte-Anne, 1940, 141pp.); Mère Marie-Irène, préfète générale des études 1896-1914, secrétaire générale 1914-1931 (collection Sainte-Anne; Lachine, Qué., Impr. des Sœurs de Sainte-Anne, 159pp.). **Prévost-Lamarre (Cécile)**, Par monts et par vaux à la suite du roi du nord (50e anniversaire de la mort du curé Labelle; Saint-Jérôme, Edns. de l'*Avenir du Nord*, 70pp.). **Vaillancourt (Emile)**, Guillaume d'Orange (Montréal, G. Ducharme, 16 pp.; revd. Winnipeg *Free Press* Jan. 15, 1942). **Welton (Sœur M.-Amadeus)**, Mgr Paul-Eugène Roy, archevêque de Québec (1859-1926), un orateur apôtre (thèse présentée à la Faculté des Lettres de l'Université Laval, pour le doctorat d'Université; Québec, Action catholique, 304pp., $1.25; revd. *Relations* fév.).

ANON., A la mémoire de feu le notaire Joseph Sirois (*Revue du notariat* XLIII 235-90). ELIE-J. AUCLAIR, L'honorable juge Prud'homme (1853-1941) (*Proceedings, Royal Society of Canada* 135-40). PAUL-HENRI BARABÉ, Mgr Adélard Langevin, O.M.I., éducateur (*RUO* juillet-sept., oct.-déc.; 338-48,

461-71). Ivanhoë Caron, Joseph-Octave Plessis (*CFran.* avril, juin; 784-96, 1029-36). Raoul Dandurand, Hector Fabre, premier délégué du Canada (*Bulletin des études françaises* nov.). Marie-Claire Daveluy, Jeanne Mance (*Garde-malade canadienne-française* fév.). Geo.-M. Giroux, Le notaire Joseph Sirois (*Revue du barreau* I 51-4). Roméo Juneau, Mgr Bourget, second père des Oblats de Marie Immaculée (*Le Droit*, numéro spécial, 20 déc.). Muguette Jobin, Hector Berlioz, 1803-1869 (*Revue populaire* mai 64, 74). Jean-Jacques Lefebvre, Pierre-Dominique Debartzch, 1782-1846 (*RTC* juin 179-200). [Olivier Maurault], Ægidius Fauteux [obituary notice] (*CHR* June 231-2). Olivier Maurault, Ægidius Fauteux (*Cahiers des Dix* 9-18); Ægidius Fauteux (1876-1941) (*Proceedings, Royal Society of Canada* 103-11). Alfred LaLiberté, Medtner, l'homme (*AF* nov. 14-23). Victor Morin, L'honorable Ernest Choquette (1862-1941) (*Proceedings, Royal Society of Canada* 95-100). Léopold and Julia Richer, Réginald Létourneau (*RD* juin 298-303). Arthur Vallée, Ernest Lapointe (*AU* déc. 5).

See also VII A (*BRH*).

B. Sketches: Narrative, Descriptive, etc.

Achard (Eugène), A travers le Canada: récits et légendes (Montréal, Libr. Générale canadienne; Québec, Action catholique, 64pp., 15c.); Au temps des Indiens rouges: récits et légendes (Montréal, Libr. Générale canadienne; Québec, Action catholique, 126pp., 25c.); Aux quatre coins des routes canadiennes (Montréal, Libr. Générale canadienne; Québec, Action catholique, 128pp., 25c.); Les contes du Saint-Laurent: récits et légendes (Montréal, Libr. Générale canadienne; Québec, Action catholique, 126pp., 25c.); Le Mississipi, père des eaux (Montréal, Libr. Générale canadienne; Québec, Action catholique, 64pp., 15c.). **Boivin (Léonce)**, Dans nos montagnes (Charlevoix) (Les Eboulements, Charlevoix, Qué., chez l'auteur, [xiv], 255pp., $1.25; revd. *Relations* oct.). **Boucher (Gédéon)**, Gazouillis (*see* III). **Bourassa (Léo-Paul)**, L'âme japonaise (Trois-Rivières, Edns. du *Bien Public*, 117 pp., 75c.; revd. *Carnets V* juillet; *Culture* juin; *Relations* mai; *RD* juillet-août). **Brassard (E.-M.)**, Le Saguenay historique (collection *Mon pays*; Montréal, Edns. Fides, 96 pp., 30c.); Le Saguenay pittoresque (collection *Mon pays*; Montréal, Edns. Fides, 96pp., 30c.). **Desjardins (Maurice)**, Le party chez Piperleau (Montréal, Edns. Bernard Valiquette, 119pp., 75c; revd. *Relations* déc.). **Desmarins (Paul)**, Le froment sous la meule (Montréal, Nouvelles Edns. du C.E.P., 110pp.). **Desrosiers (Adjutor)**, Relation de mon voyage, de Montréal à Taiden (Tokyo, Impr. Don Bosco, 69pp.). **Dugas (Marcel)**, Salve alma parens (Québec, Edn. du Chien d'Or, 23pp.). **Fortin (Odette Marie des Neiges)**, Dans le calme des soirs (au pays de Maria Chapdelaine) (Hull, Qué., Edns. "l'Eclair," 127 pp., 75c.). **Grandbois (Alain)**, Les voyages de Marco Polo (Montréal, Edns. Bernard Valiquette, 230 pp.; revd. *AF* nov.; *AU* sept.; *Le Jour* 19 juillet; *Relations* sept.). **Lasnier (Rina)**, Images et proses, illustré de 24 photographies dont 23 de Tavi (Saint-Jean, Qué., Edns. du Richelieu, 125pp.; revd. *Relations* avril). [**Maurault (Olivier)**, **Morin (Victor)** and **Fauteux (Ægidius)**], Acadie 1940, journal de voyage (Montréal, Edns. des Dix, 68pp., [privately printed]). **L'Oeuvre des tracts:** no 265, Bernard Gingras, Trois regards sur Haïti; no 269, Anon., Montréal, ville inconnue (Montréal, Action paroissiale, 16pp. each, 10c. each). **Tessier (Albert)**, Ton univers (52 photographies de Tavi) (Trois-Rivières, Edns. Trifluviennes, 112pp.).

Pierre Baillargeon, Epigrammes (*AF* déc. 23-8). Marius Barbeau, Constructeurs de navires (*CFran.* avril, mai; 805-14, 899-907); La croix de Cartier: où, à Gaspé, fut-elle plantée? (*RUO* oct.-déc. 440-43). Frédéric de Belinay, Notes sur le Tchad (*Relations* juillet 186-8). Serge Brousseau, Un Canadien-français collaborateur d'Edison [Albert-O. Petit] (*Revue populaire* fév. 6-7, 61). Gérald Danis, De Montréal à Panama en auto (*Revue populaire* juillet 8). Rex Desmarchais, Evocations du 2 novembre (*NRelève* déc. 160-3). Antoine D'Eschambault, Le "voyageur" (*CFran.* déc. 268-75). Ægidius Fauteux, Le charivari, ancien divertissement (*Canadiana* janv.,

fév.-mars). Guy Frégault, D'Iberville à Schenectady (*NRelève* sept. 36-43). Lionel Groulx, Denonville et les galériens iroquois (*AU* avril 6, 8-9, 12). Rina Lasnier, La maison qui vit (*Relations* mars 62-3). J. F. McCaffrey, Les fouilles au fort Sainte-Marie (*Relations* nov. 299-300). Clément Marchand, Les bergers parlent, conte de noël (*AF* déc. 11-12). Frère Marie-Victorin, L'Institut botanique: vingt ans au service de la science et du pays (*RTC* mars 76-90). Olivier Maurault, Notes d'art (*Mém. SRC* 113-18). Édouard Montpetit, Le milieu (*Actualité économique* fév. 301-21). Léo Pelland, L'action sociale de l'église au moyen âge (*Relations* janv. 12-13). Aimé Plamondon, A Saint-Roch de Québec (*Revue populaire* mai 9, 63, 65); Au bon vieux temps (*Revue populaire* avril 10, 69); Les fêtes d'autrefois à Québec (*Revue populaire* déc. 17, 63, 69). Robert Prévost, Le centenaire de sir Wilfrid Laurier (*Revue populaire* nov. 11, 65). Honorius Provost, La Canoterie (*CFran.* juin 1059-68). Charles Richard, Hommage à Jeanne d'Arc (*Regards* II 155-63). Robert de Roquebrune, Séjours en France (*RD* mai 248-54).

C. Essays, Critical and Reflective

Biron (Fernand), Le chant grégorien dans l'enseignement et les œuvres musicales de Vincent d'Indy (Ottawa, Edns. de l'Université, 216pp., $1.50). **Gilmard,** La vraie France (Montréal, Edns. Fides, 204 pp., 75c; revd. *Carnets V* oct.; *Relations* août; *Le Séminaire* août).

Anon., Une édition de Saint Thomas au Canada (*Culture* juin 129-53). Gaston Bibeau, Eloge de l'extravagance (*Carnets V* juillet 182-90). Fernand Biron, Le chant grégorien dans l'enseignement et les œuvres de Vincent d'Indy (*RUO* janv.-mars, avril-juin; 42-70, 206-40); Deux œuvres de Vincent d'Indy (*RUO* oct.-déc. 477-504); Les œuvres dramatiques et lyriques de Vincent d'Indy: introduction à l'étude des œuvres scéniques de V. d'Indy (*RUO* juillet-sept. 371-99). Fulgence Charpentier, Le livre français et nous (*RD* déc. 242-8). M.-A. Couturier, Picasso et les catholiques (*RD* fév. 81-6). André Dagenais, L'absoluité et la relativité [in dialogue] (*Carnets V* juillet 173-81). J.-T. Delos, La culture de l'esprit national (*RD* sept. 86-92). Rodolphe Dubé (François Hertel *pseud.*), Note sur Claudel (*AF* nov. 40-1). Jean Dufresne, Lecture de Marcel Proust (*AF* nov., déc.; 35-9, 35-41). Roger Duhamel, Figures de Péguy (*RD* oct. 148-53). Mme Pierre Dupuy, La mère française, cette excellente éducatrice (*Bulletin des études françaises* avril 58-65). Paul Fontaine, De la justice en Utopie (*CFran.* fév. 633-43). Maurice Gagnon, Peinture moderne: le surréalisme (*Technique* janv. 40). René Garneau, Descartes et Valéry (*Regards* nov. 75-9). Edmond Gaudron, Démocratie, liberté et culture (*Culture* sept., déc.; 300-12, 441-64). Louis Guay, Pour qu'on lise Albert Pelletier (*Regards* III 3-14). Louis Lachance, Des fondements métaphysiques de la morale (*CFran.* fév. 644-7). Antonin Lamarche, Le parnasse au tribunal de la poésie (*Carnets V* oct. 242-67). André Laurendeau, Christine Lavransdatter (*RD* sept. 72-9); Le maître est là (*RD* juillet-août 11-17). Roger Lemelin, Léon Bloy, chrétien et littérateur (*Regards* I, II; 32-7, 130-6). Jean Le Moyne, Les frères Marx (*La Relève* mars 186-9). Gabriel-M. Lussier, Rencontre de Claudel et d'Hitler (*RD* déc. 253-9). Marcel Marcotte, Le catholicisme de Claudel (*ES* XXI 17-26). Clément Morin, Champs grégoriens (*Carnets V* janv. 5-11). Maurice Ouellet, Itinéraire pour les admirations païennes (*Carnets V* oct. 268-74). Parabolier (*pseud.*), Les exigences du théâtre spirituel (*Carnets V* juillet 206-9). Joseph-H. Paul, La philosophie de Gabriel Marcel (*NRelève* sept. 19-29). Julien Peghaire, L'homme . . . ce méconnu (*Bulletin des études françaises* juin 31-47). Antonio Perrault, De Philocléon, Bridoye, Dandin, Brid'oison et cie à M. le juge X—— (*Mém. SRC* 119-45). Adrien Pinard, Dans les yeux irréels d'Arthur Rimbaud (*Carnets V* juillet 156-66). Gaston Pinard, Un grand serviteur du théâtre spirituel, Henri Ghéon (*Carnets V* oct. 277-83). Damase Potvin, Les visages de l'histoire (*Regards* mai, nov.). Marcel Raymond, Duhamel et l'Abbaye (*NRelève* déc. 145-9). Julia Richer, Trois âmes choisies: Alain Fournier,

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D. Writings on Religion

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See also VI D.

VII. SCHOLARSHIP IN THE HUMANITIES

A. Canadian Fields

Les Cahiers des Dix, no 6 (Drummondville, Qué., *La Parole*, 301pp.; contains: FRANCIS-J. AUDET, L'abbé Etienne Chartier; ARISTIDE BEAUGRAND-CHAMPAGNE, Croyances des anciens Iroquois; ÆGIDIUS FAUTEUX, Trois siècles de missions canadiennes; GÉRARD MALCHELOSSE, Les coureurs de bois au XVIIe siècle; E.-Z. MASSICOTTE, Au hasard des recherches; OLIVIER MAURAULT, Ægidius Fauteux; Les peintres de la Montée Saint Michel; VICTOR MORIN, La féodalité a vécu; MARÉCHAL NANTEL, Autour d'une décision judiciaire sur la langue française en Canada; PIERRE-GEORGES ROY, Les chicanes de préséance sous le régime français; ALBERT TESSIER, Les voyages vers 1800). **Documents maskoutains,** no 13, assemblée du 13 octobre 1941: communication de monsieur le chanoine P.-A. SAINT-PIERRE (Saint-Hyacinthe, Qué., Société d'histoire régionale, 28pp.). **Eloi-Gérard (Frère),** Recueil de généalogies des comtés de Charlevoix et Saguenay depuis l'origine jusqu'à 1939 (Publication de la Société historique du Saguenay no 5; La Malbaie, Qué., chez l'auteur, Ecole St-Etienne, 594pp., $3.00). **Lanctot (Gustave)** ed., Les Canadiens français et leurs voisins du sud (Relations du Canada avec les Etats-Unis, Dotation Carnegie pour la Paix Internationale; Montréal, Edns. Bernard Valiquette; Toronto, Ryerson Press; New Haven, Yale University Press, xii, 322 pp., $3.00; revd. *CHR* March 1942; *Queen's Quarterly* autumn; *SN* Sept. 27); Rapport sur les Archives publiques pour l'année 1940 (Ottawa, Impr. de Sa Majesté le Roi, xxiv, 108pp., 50c.). **LeChevallier (Jules),** Batoche: les missionnaires du nord-ouest pendant les troubles de 1885 (Montréal, Presse dominicaine, 310pp., $1.50). **Morin (Victor),** Seigneurs et censitaires, castes disparues (Montréal, Edns. des Dix, 104pp.). **[Roy, Antoine],** Rapport de l'archiviste de la province de Québec pour 1940-1941 (Québec, Imprimeur de Sa Majesté le Roi, viii, 489pp.). **Roy (Pierre-Georges),** Les cimetières de Québec (Lévis, Qué., chez l'auteur, 275pp., $1.00; revd. *CFran.* nov.); La famille Le Compte Dupré (Lévis, Qué., chez l'auteur, 211pp.); Inventaire des testaments, donations et inventaires du régime français conservés aux archives judiciaires de Québec, 3 vols. (Québec, Aux Archives, 300pp. each). **Rumilly (Robert),** Histoire de la province de Québec: II, Le "coup d'état," Charles de Boucherville, Luc Letellier de Saint-Just, Henri-Gustave Joly de Lotbinière; III, Chapleau; IV, Les "castors"; V, Riel; VI, Les "nationaux" (Montréal, Edns. Bernard Valiquette, 241, 211, 241, 316, 346pp., $1.00 each;

revd. *AU* sept.; *CFran.* sept; *Carnets V* oct.). **La Société canadienne d'histoire de l'Eglise catholique,** rapport 1939-1940 (Ottawa, M. Séraphin Marion, Archives nationales, 113pp.; revd.; *Relations* juin; contains: ELIE-J. AUCLAIR, Le rôle de l'Eglise dans les Cantons de l'Est; LIONEL GROULX, Le conflit religieux au lendemain de 1760; ARTHUR MAHEUX, Le problème protestant; SÉRAPHIN MARION, Le problème voltairien; MAURICE O'BREADY, Le mouvement mennaisien; LÉON POULIOT, Etats mystiques chez les convertis indiens dans la Nouvelle-France). **Société Royale du Canada,** Mémoires de la; littérature, histoire, archéologie, sociologie, économie politique et sujets connexes, en français troisième série, tome XXXV, sect. I, séance de mai 1941 (Toronto, University of Toronto Press, 160pp.; contains: FRANCIS-J. AUDET, Adam Thom (1802-1890); JEAN BRUCHESI, La vocation sulpicienne de Monseigneur Bruchesi; PIERRE DAVIAULT, Mme de Freneuse et M. de Bonaventure; GUSTAVE LANCTOT, Le Québec et la Révolution américane; GEORGES ROBITAILLE, Les débuts de la guerre de Sept Ans (1756-1757)).

JEAN BRUCHESI, Une correspondante de Mgr Bruchesi, Reynès-Monlaur (*CFran.* sept. 17-25). JEAN DUMOUCHEL, Le Canada au cabinet impérial de guerre [1914-18] (*Actualité économique* oct. 456-66); Le Canada en marche vers son status international, de 1914 au cabinet de guerre (1917) (*Actualité économique* juin-juillet 220-40). GUSTAVE LANCTOT, Les historiens d'hier et l'histoire d'aujourd'hui (*C Historical Association Report* 5-14). SÉRAPHIN MARION, La dictature et le Canada français de 1800 (*RUO* juillet-sept., oct.-déc.; 319-37, 444-60). PATRICE ROBERT, Les Franciscains canadiens et les études médiévales (*Chronique franciscaine* mai 59-88). RAMSAY TRAQUAIR, OLIVIER MAURAULT, ANTOINE GORDON NEILSON, La conservation des monuments historiques dans la province de Québec (*RTC* mars 1-23).

See also BRH with writers noted: F.-J. Audet, Berneval, Ivanhoë Caron, E. Fabre-Surveyer, Onésime Gagnon, C.-J. Magnan, E.-Z. Massicotte, Louvigny de Montigny, Léon Pouliot, Pierre-Georges Roy, Régis Roy. For titles of articles see quarterly bibliographies in *CHR* and *C Journal of Economics and Political Science.*

B. Other Fields

(a) Language and Literature

French

MARIUS BARBEAU, Pantagruel au Canada (*CFran.* fév. 571-88). MARGARET M. CAMERON, *L'essai sur Mackenzie* de Chateaubriand (*CFran.* janv. 497-511).

(b) Theology, Philosophy, and General Science

L'Académie canadienne Saint-Thomas d'Aquin, 8ème session 13-14 oct. 1937 (Québec, Action catholique, 1940, 176pp.; revd. *RUO* oct.-déc.). **Association canadienne-française pour l'Avancement des Sciences,** Annales de l'ACFAS, vol. 7 (Montréal, l'Association, 4101 est, rue Sherbrooke, 229 pp.). **Charron (Y.),** La foi et la raison dans la pénétration des écritures ("Theologica montis regii"; publications de la Faculté de Théologie de l'Université de Montréal, 3; Montréal, Grand Séminaire; Granger Frères, [iv], 67 pp.). **Ferland (A.),** Commentarius in Summam D. Thomae: De Sacramentis in speciali, De Novissimis (Montréal, Grand Séminaire, 1940, xxviii, 618pp.). **Morissette, (Nazaire),** Notion générique de la vertu selon saint Bonaventure (Ottawa, Edns. de l'Université, 36pp.). **Poulet (Donat),** Tous les hommes sont-ils fils de Noé? étude biblique et apologétique (Ottawa, Edns. de l'Université, 410pp., $2.00). **Saintonge (Frédéric),** Summa cosmologiae, seu philosophia naturalis generalis (Collegium maximum immaculatae conceptionis Marianopolitanum; Montréal, Impr. du Messager, 546pp., $3.00; revd. *RUO* janv.-mars 1942).

LIONEL AUDET, Le caractère sacramental: participation au sacerdoce du Christ (*CFran.* nov. 189-201). EMMANUEL BOURQUE, Les premiers recueils euchologiques (*RUO* juillet-sept. 178*-208*). JEAN-RENÉ CASTONGUAY, Ne

pas contrister l'Esprit (*CarnetsV* janv. 18-22). LUCIEN COMTOIS, Le mystère de la liberté du Christ (*CarnetsV* avril 77-83). ROLAND FOURNIER, Grâce et nature (*Le Séminaire* août 140-51). JACQUES GERVAIS, Science théologique et don de science: comment ils discernent les vérités de foi (*RUO* oct.-déc. 213*-234*). MAURICE GILBERT, La structure ontologique du Christ selon Saint Thomas (*RUO* janv.-mars. avril-juin; 32*-46*, 85*-110*). CHARLES DE KONINCK, Les sciences expérimentales sont-elles distinctes de la philosophie de la nature? (*Culture* déc. 465-76). LAVAL LAURENT, "Sapience" biblique et humanisme intégral (*CarnetsV* avril 71-6). GABRIEL-M. LUSSIER, Avec Saint Thomas (*RD* mars 128-33). LUCIEN MATTE, Lois statistiques, causalité et miracle (*RTC* mars 24-33). CLÉMENT MORIN, "Stimulus carnis" (*RUO* avril-juin 241-56). M.-ALBERT O'NEILL, La réalisation humaine et le surnaturel (*Culture* juin 154-65). JULIEN PEGHAIRE, Peut-on encore parler des facultés de l'âme (*RUO* avril-juin 111*-43*). DONAT POULET, L'antéhistoire s'oppose-t-elle à un déluge, humainement universel? (*RUO* janv.-mars. 71-99). LÉONARD-M. PUECH, Le rôle du caractère sacramental (*Culture* juin 166-99). LOUIS TACHÉ, Notes sur l'histoire des exemptions monastiques des origines au IXe siècle (*RUO* janv.-mars, juillet-sept.; 5*-31*, 151*-177*).

(c) Social Sciences

Vézina (Roger), La monnaie et le crédit (Montréal, Edns. Bernard Valiquette, 202pp., $1.00; revd. *Relations* sept.).

ALPHONSE-MARIE PARENT, Autour du racisme (*CFran.* janv. 530-40). J.-T. DELOS, La notion de race en sociologie et la génétique (*Bulletin des études françaises* sept. 7-17).

VIII. HANDBOOKS, SCHOOL TEXT-BOOKS, ETC.

Anon., Le bois: description des caractéristiques technologiques et nomenclature (Les vocabulaires normalisées; Montréal, Société des Ecrivains canadiens, [vi], 45pp., 20c.; revd. *AU* mars). **Bernier (Paul-E.)** comp., Index des manufacturiers de la province de Québec (Québec, Edns. du Commerce, 192pp., $1.50). **Boyle (Roland)**, Les grandes dates de Ville-Marie (tract no 27; Montréal, La Ligue Missionnaire des étudiants, 16pp., 5c.). **Daviault (Pierre)**, Traduction . . . notes de traduction (3e série) (Montréal, Edns. de l'A. C.-F., 241pp., $1.50; revd. *CFran.* sept.). **Laverdière (J.-W.)** and **Morin (L.-G.)**, Initiation à la géologie (Montréal, Edns. Fides, 158pp., 90c.; revd. *AU* oct.; *Culture* déc.; *NRelève* fév. 1942; *RUO* janv.-mars 1942). **Petit (Gérard)**, Face au mariage; series includes: 1, Mon fiancé; 2, Quand on s'aime; 3, Pour un beau mariage; 4, Ton corps et ton amour; 5, Ton cœur et ses secrets; 6, La conquête du vouloir; 7, Quand la conscience parle; 8, L'intelligence, lumière du cœur; 9, Nous deux; 10, L'amour suffit-il?; 11, Ai-je le droit de plaire? 12, Le flirt (Montréal, Edns. Fides, 32 pp. each, 10c. each). **Rivard (Adjutor)**, Manuel de la cour d'appel: juridiction civile, organisation, compétence, procédure (Montréal, Edns. Variétés, 416pp., $10). **Rousseau (Jacques)** Notions élémentaires de génétique (Montréal, Jardin botanique, Bulletin no 2; Montréal, chez l'auteur, l'Université de Montréal, 155pp.; revd. *AU* mai.)

LISTS OF PUBLICATIONS: NEW-CANADIAN[1]

COMPILED BY WATSON KIRKCONNELL

I. SELECTED PERIODICALS AND SERIALS

There were no important changes in the periodicals published in 1941.

II. CULTURAL AND LITERARY HISTORY OF CANADA

A. Selected Works of Reference, and Bibliographies

Grocholski (J. S. W.) ed., Poles in Canada: Canadians all (Winnipeg, Polish National Relief and Defence Committee, 112 pp.). **Grossman (Vladimir)** ed., Canadian Jewish year book, 1941-1942, vol. III (Montreal, C Jewish Publication Society, 454 Lagauchetière St. W., 351 pp., $2.50). **University of Toronto Quarterly,** Letters in Canada, 1940, ed. A. S. P. Woodhouse: WATSON KIRKCONNELL, New-Canadian Letters; Lists of Publications] (April 317-19, 395-9).

B. Selected Studies in Historical and Contemporary Background

Ewach (Honoré), Korotka Istoriya Kanady (Ukr. "Short history of Canada"; ser. *UH*). **Gibbon (J. M.),** New Canadian loyalists (Toronto, Macmillan, 39 pp., 10c.). **Kirkconnell (Watson),** Canadians all: primer of Canadian national unity (Ottawa, Director of Public Information, 48 pp.); Twilight of liberty (London, N.Y., Toronto, Oxford, xvi, 193 pp., 75c.). **Nemes (Gusztáv)** ed., Az Ó- es Ujhaza Történelme (Hung. "History of the old land and the new"; ser. *KMU*).

ANNA ARABSKA, Ukrayinska Zhinky-Pionirky v Kanadi (Ukr. "Ukrainian women-pioneers in Canada" *UW* April 8). A. BUHR, Who are the Mennonites? (*MR*). WATSON KIRKCONNELL, The Canadian amalgam (*Common Ground*, N.Y., autumn 37-40). K. S. PRODAN, Pochatky hospodariuvannya Ukrayintsiv u Manitobi (Ukr. "Beginning of the settlement of Ukrainians in Manitoba" *UW* April 8). NIL SAVARYN, Tserkva v Zhytti ukrayinskoyi imigratsiyi v Kanadi (Ukr. "The Church in the life of the Ukrainian immigration in Canada" *UW* April 8).

C. History and Criticism of Canadian Literature and Speech

Klassen (Peter), Das Wort: Eine Betrachtung über das gesprochene und geschriebene Wort, mit Skizzen aus dem Leben (Ger. "The word: a consideration of the spoken and written word, with sketches from life"; ser. *MR*).

HONORÉ EWACH, Kanadiysko-Ukrayinske Pysmenstvo (Ukr. "Canadian-Ukrainian literature" *Svoboda*, N.Y.). WATSON KIRKCONNELL, New-Canadian

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[1]All undated entries are of 1941. The language is indicated in brackets before the translation of the title. The numbering of the Lists corresponds to that adopted for English-Canadian Letters. Where there is nothing to report the section or subsection is silently omitted. The following abbreviations are used: Assoc.—Association; C—Canadian; *Cour.—Der Courier*, Regina; *CP—Canada Posten*, Winnipeg; *CT—Canada Tidningen*; Ger.—German; *GP—Gazeta Polska*; *HG—Hrvatski Glas*, Winnipeg; *Hkr.—Heimskringla*, Winnipeg; Hung.—Hungarian; Icel.—Icelandic; *KF—Kanadyisky Farmer*, Winnipeg; *KMU—Kanadai Magyar Ujsag*, Winnipeg; *Lbg.—Lögberg*, Winnipeg; *MR—Mennonitische Rundschau*, Winnipeg; *Ndw.—Nordwesten*, Winnipeg; Nor.—Norwegian; *Norr.—Norrona Canadian*, Winnipeg; *NS—Novy Shlakh*, Saskatoon; Pol.—Polish; *R—Review*; *Sgn.—Sameiningin*, Winnipeg; Swed.—Swedish; *TTI—Timarit Thjodraeknisfjelags Islendinga*, Winnipeg; *UH—Ukrayinsky Holos*, Winnipeg; Ukr.—Ukrainian; *UR—Ukrayinsky Robitnyk*, Toronto; *UTQ—University of Toronto Quarterly*; *UW—Ukrayinsky Wisty*, Edmonton.

Letters, in Letters in Canada (*UTQ* April 317-19); New-Canadian poetry (*CPM* Aug. 5-8). Peter Klassen, Unsere Dichter (Ger. "Our poets" *MR*, *Bote* Aug. 13). Viktor Kupchenko, Nacherk ukrayinskoyi literaturnoyi tvorchosty v Kanadi (Ukr. "Sketch of Ukrainian literary production in Canada" *UW*). G. Loewen, Unsere Dichter (Ger. "Our poets" *Bote* Aug. 20).

D. Selected Publications in Arts and Crafts in Canada

Gilbert Parfitt, Ukrainian cottages (*Journal of Royal Architectural Institute of Canada* Aug. 132-3).

III. POETRY

Mandryka (Mykyta Ivanovich), Miy Sad (Ukr. "My garden"; Winnipeg, C Ukrainian Educational Assoc., 125 pp.); ed., Antologiya Ukrayinskoho Pysmenstva v Kanadi, vol. I (Ukr. "An anthology of Ukrainian literature in Canada"; Winnipeg, C Ukrainian Educational Assoc., 158 pp.).

Poems in the various languages, and by the following writers, have appeared: **Croatian:** Vicko Buktenica (*HG*), Barica Restek (*HG*), Zvonimir Restek (*HG*). **Czech:** Venuje Cambala (*Nova Vlast*), Josef Hora (*ibid.*). **German:** G. Berg (*MR*), Greta Braun (*Bote*), J. P. Braun (*MR*), G. B. Enns (*Bote*), H. D. Friesen (*MR*), I. P. Friesen (*Christlicher Bundesbote*, Newton, Kan., *MR*, *Zionsbote*), Karl Gerok (*Cour.*), Daniel Hermann (*MR*), Eugenie Hoffmann (*Bote*, *Cour.*), Peter Isaac (*MR*), Jacob Janzen (*Bote*), "Karlo" (*MR*), Erich Kaestner (*Bote*), Peter Klassen (*Bote*, *Cour.*, *MR*, *Ndw.*, including translations from Krylov and Kirkconnell), G. Loewen (*Bote*), Ida Mengering (*Cour.*), J. W. Neufeld (*MR*), E. Obenauer (*Cour.*), F. C. Ortmann (*MR*), J. Peters (*Bote*), Anton Pohlkamp (*Cour.*), Robert Prutz (*MR*), August Ruecker (*MR*), Karl Ruhkopf (*Cour.*), Henry Trelle (*Cour.*, *Ndw.*), Philipp Wiebe (*MR*). **Hungarian:** Pálné Alsódraskóci-Morvay (*KMU*), Ernö Csók (*KMU*), Gyula Izsák (*KMU*), Ferenc Jakabffy (*KMU*), K. István Karnay (*KMU*), Sándor Kaucz (*KMU*), Paul Morvay (*KMU*). **Icelandic:** M. B. Adamson (*Hkr.*), Steingrimur Arason (*Hkr.*, *Lbg.*), Thorgils Asmundsson (*Hkr.*), Kristján Austmann (*Hkr.*), Richard Beck (*Hkr.*, *Lbg.*), S. B. Benedictsson (*Lbg.*), Gudrun Bjarnason (*Hkr.*), Paul Bjarnason (*Hkr.*, *Lbg.*), S. E. Björnsson (*Hkr.*, *Lbg.*), Hjörtur Brandson (*Hkr.*, *Lbg.*), G. O. Einarsson (*Hkr.*, *Lbg.*), Kristján Einarsson frá Djupalaek (*Hkr.*), Sigrudur Einarsson (*Lbg.*), E. G. Gillies (*Hkr.*, *Lbg.*), Sigridur Gísladóttir (*Lbg.*), Hjálmar Gíslason (*Hkr.*, *Lbg.*), Ingibjörg Gudmundsson (*Hkr.*, *Sgn.*), G. J. Guttormsson (*Freyr*, Reykjavik, *Hkr.*, *Lbg.*), V. J. Guttormsson (*Hkr.*, *Lbg.*), Páll á Hjalmsstödum (*Lbg.*), B. Hornfjörd (*Hkr.*, *Lbg.*), Jóhannes Húnfjörd (*Hkr.*, *Lbg.*), M. Ingimarsson (*Hkr.*, *Lbg.*), S. J. Jóhannesson (*Hkr.*, *Lbg.*), B. E. Johnson (*Hkr.*), Jakobina Johnson (*Hkr.*, *Lbg.*), Jón Jónatansson (*Hkr.*), Einar Jónsson (*Hkr.*, *Lbg.*), Jónas Stefánsson frá Kaldbak (*Hkr.*), Ludvik Kristjánsson (*Hkr.*, *Lbg.*), Thordur Kristjánsson (*Hkr.*, *Lbg.*), Bjarni Lyngholt (*Hkr.*), Gudrun Magnússon (*Lbg.*), Magnús Markusson (*Lbg.*), Holmfridur McDonald (*Hkr.*), J. J. Middal (*Hkr.*), Jakob Norman (*Hkr.*), Jónas Pálsson (*Hkr.*), Kristján Pálsson (*Hkr.*, *Lbg.*), Páll S. Pálsson (*Hkr.*), E. Scheving (*Hkr.*), Johanna Sigbjörnsson (*Sgn.*), Rannveig Sigbjörnsson (*Lbg.*), Ragnar Stefánsson (*Hkr.*), Helen Swinburne (*Lbg.*), B. Thorbergson (*Sgn.*), Oskar Thordarson frá Haga (*Hkr.*), Steingrímur Thorlákson (*Sgn.*), B. Thorsteinsson (*Hkr.*), Th. Thorsteinsson (*Hkr.*, *Lbg.*), Johanna Thorwald (*Lbg.*). **Norwegian:** (all in *Norr.*): Olav Bohmer, S. O. Flottorp, Nordahl Grieg, M. H. Gröndal, Martin Myhre, Halvor Nordahl, Rudolph Olsen, Simon Oyen, Thorstein Rogne, Sigmund Skard, Magnus Steiestöl, C. Stensrud, Herman Wildenvey. **Polish:** Zofia Arciszewska (*Czas*), Henryk Chrustowski (*Czas*), J. J. Dekowski (*GP*), "Ja-Sa" (*GP*), W. Kosior (*Czas*), Ignacy Posner (*GP*), Lucjan Siemienski (*GP*), W. Sienko (*Czas*). **Swedish:** A. A. Anderson (*CT*), Olle Berglund (*CP*), Daniel Boethius (*CP*), "Bonelli" (*CP*), Gertrud Brander (*CP*), Iwan Bratt (*CT*), Otto Craelius (*CT*), Lila Dahlman (*CP*), Emma Drevits (*CP*), Johannes Edfelt (*CT*), Gunnar Edman (*CT*), Maiken Ekman (*CP*), Charles Erickson (*CT*), Samuel Gabrielsson

(*CP*), C. A. Gavert (*CP*), F. O. Gustafson (*CP*), Gösta Gustafsson (*CP*), John Haakansson (*CP*), J. Hansen (*CT*), Carl Hanson (*CP*), P. F. Hiller (*CP*), J. A. Hultman (*CP*), G. F. Johnson (*CT*), Karl Johnsson (*CT*), Gösta Larsson (*CT*), Aake Lind (*CP*), Erik Lindorm (*CT*), Ebba Lindquist (*CT*), N. J. Lindquist (*CP*), Paul Lundh (*CT*), Manne Malm (*CP*), Nick O. de Mus (*CT*), Pälle Näver (*CT*), Anna Ny (*CP*), Orvar Odd (*CT*), Gert Odeltorp (*CP*), Anders Osterling (*CT*), Arvid Peterson (*CP*), Mrs. P. M. Polson (*CP*), Joseph Rosenius (*CP*), Viktor Rydberg (*CT*), Sigmund Skard (*CP*), Kare Skredsvik (*CT*), G. Söderbäck (*CT*), Z. Topelius (*CP*), Birger Vaardh (*CP*), Evald Widell (*CP*), Gustaf Wideskog (*CP*), Waldemar Willen (*CP*). **Ukrainian:** Maria Adamovska (*UH*), Evgen Berezhynskiy (*KF*), Y. Bezubka (*NS*), Ivan Borshovskiy (*UH*), Stepan Charnetsky (*UW*), Spyrodon Cherkasenko (*UR*), Ivan Danylchuk (*District Press*, Andrew, Alberta, Saskatoon *Star-Phoenix*, *Ukrainian C R*, *UH*, *UR*), Oleksander Darkovich (*UW*), Mariya Datsiv (*UH*), T. Dmytrenko (*KF*), Ivan Drabynyanstiy (*UH*), Pavlo Drozdovich (*UH*), T. Dyakovska (*UH*), Honoré Ewach (*UH*), Nastya Feshtuk (*UH*), A. M. Gnyadovska (*UH*), T. Halip (*UW*), L. Hlibiv (*NS*), Boris Homzyn (*UR*), Evgen Hrebinka (*UW*), Boris Hrinchenko (*UW*), Marusya Hryniv (*UH*), Anna Hunchak (*NS*), A. Hutsulak (*UH*), K. Kachmarova (*UH*), Sylvester Kalynets (*UH*), P. Khomlyak (*NS*), Ivan Kmeta (Miroslav Ichnyansky *pseud.*) (*NS*), Semen Kowbel (*NS*, *NS yearbook*, *Our Life*, *Svoboda*, N.Y., *UH*), Uliana Kravchenko (*KF*, *UW*), Nastya Krochak (*UH*), Borshosh Kumyatskiy (*UW*), Volodymyr Kupchenko (*NS*), Anatol Kurdydyk (*KF*), Myra Lazechko (*NS*), M. Lysak (*NS*), Mykyta Mahyr (*UH*), M. I. Mandryka (*KF*), Stepan Musiychuk (*NS*), S. M. Mykhaylyshyn (*UH*), Viktoria Negrich (*UH*), Ivan Novosad (*UH*), Katrya Novosad (*UH*), George Nyema (*UH*), Stepan Onyshtiuk (*UH*), V. Parovinchak (*UR*), M. Pastyr (*UH*), Vasyl Perepeliuk (*UH*), Anna Podolyanka (*KF*, *UH*), Gregory Rurka (*UW*), Ivan Shabachenko (*NS*), George Shkrymeliak (*UR*), Hanna Skakun (*UH*), Ivan Snihur (*NS*), Zenoviy Stratiychuk (*UH*), Vasyl Tsurat (*NS*, *UW*), Marya Verezhak (*UH*), Taras Volokhatiuk (*NS*), S. Zaokipniy (*UH*).

IV. FICTION

A. Novels, Serials, etc.

Bozhyk (Pantelemon), Odnoselchany v Kanadi (Ukr. "Fellow-villagers in Canada"; ser. *UW*). **Klassen (Peter)**, Wenn eine Mutter bete fuer ihr Kind (Ger. "If a mother pray for her child"; ser. *Bote*, *Cour.*); Wie einer wieder beten lernte (Ger. "How a man learned to pray again"; ser. *Bote*, *Cour.*). **Kobylyanska (Olga)**, Cherez kladku (Ukr. "Over the bridge"; ser. *UH*). **Ordivskiy (Semen)**, Sribniy Cherep (Ukr. "The silver skull"; ser. *NS*). **Shelestynsky (Ivan)**, Ydu v selo (Ukr. "I go to town"; ser. *NS*).

B. Selected Short Stories

Short stories in the various languages, and by the following writers, have appeared: **Croatian:** Arkadij Avercenko (*HG*). **German:** Käthe Damm (*Bote*), G. Fast (*Bote*), Fritz Franzen (*Bote*), Eugenie Hoffmann (*Cour.*), Jacob Janzen (*Bote*), Peter Klassen (*MR*), P. P. Krocker (*MR*), Anton Pohlkamp (*Cour.*), Josefine Richter (*Cour.*), P. Unger (*MR*), Fritz Winkler (*Cour.*). **Norwegian:** Matthias Farvolden (*Norr.*), Halvor Nordahl (*Norr.*). **Polish:** Maria Dunin-Kozicka (*GP*). **Swedish:** Anna Cederström (*CP*), Eliel Dag (*CT*), Röl Gording (*CP*), Norrie Gray (*CT*), Helmer Grundström (*CT*), Joseph Gustafson (*CP*), Carl Lindoff (*CP*), Anna Oelander (*CP*), Johannes Sewerin (*CT*), Leonard Strömberg (*CP*), Herman Westberg (*CP*). **Ukrainian:** W. Budzynowsky (*KF*), Andriy Chaykowsky (*KF*), Halaktion Chipka (*KF*), Svetozor Chorovich (*UW*), Ivan Fylypchak (*KF*), A. Gospodyn (*NS*), Evgen Hrynyshyn (*NS*), Myroslav Ichnyansky (*NS*), N. Kohuska (*UH*), Natalya Koroleva (*UW*), Semen Kowbel (*NS*), Leonid Mosends (*NS*), Ivan Sawchuk (*UR*), Ivan Smoliy (*NS*), Vasyl Tkachuk (*NS*), Ostap Vyshnya (*UR*), Vitaly Yurchenko (*UR*).

V. DRAMA

Danylchuk (Ivan J.), Sumkiwci (Ukr. "Members of SUMK," 2-act play; Saskatoon, 40 pp.). **Tulewitrow (W.)**, Taka iyi Dolya (Ukr. "Such was his fate," 4-act play; Winnipeg, National Press, 28 pp.).

Katrya Novosad, Naykrashtiy Darynok (Ukr. "The finest present" *UH*).

VI. MISCELLANEOUS PROSE

A. Biography and Autobiography

Bozhyk (P.), Shto bachyv ya u Skhidniy Kanadi (Ukr. "What I saw in Eastern Canada"; ser. *UW*). **Sikevich (General V.)**, Storinka iz Zapysnoyi Knyzhky (Ukr. "Pages from a note-book"; Saskatoon, Ukrainian National Pub. Co., 63 pp.).

A. M. Andriyevsky, Nestir Ivanovich Makhno (Ukr. *KF* July 25). Gudmundur Arnason, Rögnvaldur Petursson, Aefiminning (Icel. "R.P., obituary" *TTI*). Magnús Bjarnason, Fáord minning Jonönnu Gudrunar Jónsdóttir Halldorsson (Icel. "Brief obituary of J. G. J. H." *Hkr.*, *Lbg.*). Jacob Klassen-Eigenheim, Reiseerinnerungen (Ger. "Memories of travel" *Bote*). Walter Quiring, Die Flucht: Russlanddeutsche suchen eine Heimat (Ger. "The escape: Germans of Russia seek a homeland" *Bote* May 14 28). R. K. G. Sigbjörnsson, Lifsskodanir Abrahams Lincolns (Icel. "Abraham Lincoln's views of life" *Lbg.* March 27).

B. Sketches: Narrative, Descriptive, etc.

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